THE WORKS OF M. DE VOLTAIRE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

WITH

NOTES, HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL.

BY T. SMOLLETT, M.D.

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IN TWENTY-FOUR VOLUMES.

VOLUME IX.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
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1912
CAMBRIDGE

DUBLIN:
PRINTED BY H. SAUNDERS,
FOR R. MONCRIEFFE IN CAPEL-STREET.
M, DCC, LXXII.

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ANNALS OF THE EMPIRE, FROM THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE, CONTINUED.

WENCESLAUS.

Thirty-fourth Emperor.

1379, 1380, 1381, 1382.

THE reign of Charles IV. which had been much complained of, and ſtill is blamed, is an age of gold, when compared to the times of Wenceſlaus his ſon.

He begins by waſting his father's treaſures in debaucheries at Frankfort and Aix la Chapelle, without giving himſelf any trouble about his patrimony, Bohemia, deſolated by the plague.

At the latter end of the year all the Bohemian lords revolt againſt him; he ſees himſelf all of a ſudden beſet, without daring to hope for any aſſiſtance from the

empire, and obliged to march againſt his Bohemian ſubjects; the reſt of thoſe banditti called Malandrins, who ranged Europe, ſeeking the ſervice of ſuch princes as would employ them, ravage Bohemia for their pay. Europe, in the mean time, is torn to pieces by the ſchiſm between the two popes. Which melancholy diſpute at laſt coſt the unfortunate Joan queen of Naples her life.

Now that there were no hopes, it was made a point of religion as well as policy to ſide with one of them. He was certainly wiſeſt who acknowledged neither. Joan queen of Naples had unfortunately declared for Clement, at a time that Urban had it in his power to hurt her. She was accuſed of having aſſaſſinated her firſt huſband, Andrew of Hungary, and living then quietly with Otho of Brunſwick, her preſent ſpouſe.

Urban, poſſeſſed as yet of ſome power in Italy, ſtirs up againſt her Charles de Durazzo, under pretence of revenging the fate of her firſt huſband.

Charles de Durazzo comes into Hungary to aſſiſt the anger of the pope, who had promiſed him the crown. What is moſt terrible in this affair is, that he had been adopted by queen Joan, who was now far advanced in years. He had been declared her heir, yet preferred ſtripping her, who had been to him as a mother, of crown and life, rather than wait till nature and time gave him the crown.

Otho of Brunſwick, who fights in his wife's behalf, is made priſoner along with her. Charles de Durazzo cauſes her to be ſtrangled. Naples had, ſince the days of Charles of Anjou, become a theatre of wicked attempts againſt their crowned heads.

The imperial throne becomes at preſent a ſcene of horror and contempt. In Bohemia nothing to
1383, be ſeen but ſeditions againſt Wenceſlaus. All
1384, the members of the houſe of Bavaria reunite
1385, to declare war againſt him. This is a
1386. crime by the laws; but there are no longer laws.

The emperor has no other way of aſſuaging this ſtorm, than in reſtoring to the count palatine of Bavaria the towns of the Higher Palatinate, which Charles

Charles IV. had ſeized when that prince had been diſtreſſed.

He cedes other towns to the duke of Bavaria, as Mulberg and Bernau. All the towns on the Rhine, of Suabia, and Franconia, league againſt him. The princes bordering on France receive penſions. To Wenceſlaus remains the bare title of emperor.

While an emperor thus debaſes himſelf, a woman immortalizes her name. Margaret of Waldemar, queen of Denmark and of Norway, be- 1387.
comes by victories and election queen of Sweden. This grand revolution reſpects Germany no farther than as this heroine is fruitleſly oppoſed by the princes of Mecklenburgh, the counts of Holſtein, the towns of Hamburgh and of Lubeck.

The alliance of the Swiſs cantons ſtrengthens them for the preſent, and they grow always ſtronger by war. It was now ſome years ſince the canton of Bern had engaged in this union. Duke Leopold bends his views to the taming theſe people. He attacks them, and loſes the battle with his life.

The leagues of the towns of Franconia, Suabia, and the Rhine, might form a people free, as the
natives of Swiſſerland, eſpecially under a reign 1388.
ſo confuſed as this of Wenceſlaus, were there not too many chiefs, too great a variety of particular intereſts; beſides, the nature of their ſituation, open on every ſide, did not permit them to ſeparate themſelves from the empire like the Swiſs.

Sigiſmund, the brother of Wenceſlaus, gains ſome glory in Hungary. He was only the huſband
of the queen, whom the Hungarians had 1389.
called King Mary; a title they have revived, not long ſince, in favour of Maria Thereſa, daughter of Charles VI. Mary was young, and the ſtates had no mind her huſband ſhould govern: they had rather commit the regency to Elizabeth of Boſnia, mother of their King Mary: ſo that Sigiſmund found himſelf only the huſband of the princeſs under tuition, to whom was awarded the title of King.

The ſtates of Hungary are diſcontented with the regency, and do not intirely chooſe to ſerve Sigiſmund. They offer the crown to Charles de Durazzo, a man uſed to ſtrangle queens, who arrives, and is crowned.

The regent and her daughter diſguiſe their ſentiments, watch their opportunity, and cauſe him to be aſſaſſinated before them. The palatine of Croatia ſets himſelf up to be judge of the two queens; he cauſes the mother to be drowned, and the daughter to be impriſoned. It is now that Sigiſmund ſhews himſelf worthy of reigning; he levies troops in his electorate of Brandenburg, and in the dominions of his brother. He defeats the Hungarians.

The palatine of Croatia delivers up his wife, having made her promiſe he ſhould be continued in his government. Sigiſmund, crowned king of Hungary, does not believe himſelf obliged to obſerve his wife's word, and cauſes the palatine of Croatia to be quartered in the town of the Five Churches.

During theſe horrors the great ſchiſm in the church increaſes. It might have been extinguiſhed
1390. after the death of Urban, by acknowledging Clement; but at Rome they choſe one Peter Tomaſelli, who was not received in Germany, becauſe France had acknowleged Clement. He requires the annates, or firſt year's profit of the benefices; which Germany pays, and murmurs.

It looks as if they determined to make the Jews repay them what they had advanced to the pope. Almoſt all the inland trade was conducted by them, in ſpite of the Hans-towns. They imagined them ſo rich in Bohemia, that they murdered and deſtroyed them every where. The ſame was done in many towns, and above all at Spire.

Wenceſlaus, who was ſparing of his edicts, iſſued one annulling all debts due to the Jews: imagining thus to conciliate the nobility and people.

From

The town of Straſburgh is ſo powerful as to ſupport a war againſt the elector palatine and his biſhop, on account of ſome fiefs. It incurs the imperial ban, and is quit for 30,000 florins, paid to the emperor's profit. From 1391, to 1397.

Three brothers, dukes of Bavaria, enter into compact, by which every Bavarian prince is thenceforth bound neither to ſell or give up his tenure to any but his nigheſt relation; and not to diſpoſe of it to a ſtranger, without the conſent of every member of the houſe: here is a law, which might be inſerted in the golden bull, much to the advantage of the firſt families in Germany.

Each ſovereign and each town take the beſt care poſſible of their mutual affairs.

Wenceſlaus, ſhut up in Prague, commits many actions of barbarity and madneſs; there were, particularly, times in which he was quite beſide himſelf. This is an effect of exceſs in eating and drinking, which attends more people than one may imagine.

Charles VI. of France was, in the mean time, attacked with a diſorder of nearly the ſame nature, loſing often the uſe of reaſon. The antipopes divide the church, and indeed Europe. By whom or how was the world at this time governed?

Wenceſlaus, in one of his fits, threw the monk John Nepomucene into the Moldau, where he was drowned, becauſe he had refuſed to tell him what the queen his wife had confeſſed to him. It is ſaid he ſometimes walked the ſtreets attended by the public executioners, and put to death on the ſpot ſuch people as he diſliked. The magiſtrates of Prague cauſe him to be ſeized as a common malefactor, and thrown into a dungeon.

They permit him baths for the recovery of his health and ſenſes.

He eſcapes with one ſervant maid, whom he makes his miſtreſs. He ſhuts himſelf up in Beraun. Here was a fair opportunity for Sigiſmund his brother, king of Hungary, to have himſelf acknowledged king of Bohemia; nor does he let it ſlip; but he could only get himſelf declared regent. He ſhuts up his brother in the

caſtle of Prague; from whence he ſends him to duke Albert of Auſtria at Vienna, and returns to Hungary to oppoſe the Turks, who began to extend their conqueſts on that ſide.

Wenceſlaus makes another eſcape from his new priſon, and once more reaches Prague; and, what is wonderful, finds there ſome partizans.

What is ſtill more aſtoniſhing is, that Germany does not interfere in the leaſt in the emperor's affairs, neither when he is in a dungeon at Prague or Vienna, nor yet when he returns home to Bohemia.

Is it credible that Wenceſlaus, in the midſt of the infamy and turns of ſuch a life, ſhould pro-
1398. poſe a meeting at Rheims in Champagne, with Charles IV. king of France, to put an end to the ſcandals of ſchiſm?

And at Rheims the two monarchs meet. It is remarked, that at a feaſt given here by the king of France to the emperor and to the king of Navarre, a patriarch of Alexandria who was preſent took the firſt place at table. It is alſo remarked, that one morning Wenceſlaus was found drunk by thoſe who went to confer with him on the buſineſs of the church.

The univerſities begin now to gain ſome credit, becauſe they were new, and had no authority in the church. That of Paris was the firſt which propoſed a demiſſion of the papacy, and the election of a new pope. And it was debated that the king of France ſhould obtain the demiſſion of his pope Clement; and that Wenceſlaus alſo ſhould engage for his pope doing the ſame.

Neither of the pretenders choſe to reſign. They were the ſucceſſors of Clement and Urban. The firſt was Tomaſelli, who, being elected on the death of Urban, aſſumed the name of Boniface; the ſecond was Pedro de Luna, a native of Arragon, who was called Benedict, and fixed his reſidence at Avignon.

The court of France keeps its word with the emperor; propoſes to Benedict his abdication, which he refuſing, is kept priſoner five whole years in his caſtle at Avignon.

Thus

Thus the court of France, in not acknowledging a pope during five years, ſhewed that the church could ſubſiſt without a pope.

It was ſaid that Wenceſlaus could drink with his pope, but not treat with him.

He finds at length a ſpouſe, Sophia of Bavaria, notwithſtanding his having haſtened the death of his firſt with ill treatment. He is not known to relapſe into any of his fits of frenzy after this match; and minds nothing but, like his father Charles IV. heaping up money *. He ſells every thing, and at laſt diſpoſes of the emperor's title to Lombardy unto Galeazo Viſconti, declaring it, according to ſome authors, intirely independent of the empire, for one hundred and fifty thouſand golden crowns. No law prevents the emperor from theſe alienations. Had there ſubſiſted any, Viſconti would never have hazarded ſo conſiderably. 1399.

The miniſters of Wenceſlaus, who pillage Bohemia, incline to levy exactions upon the province of Miſnia; about which complaints are made to the electors; and ſtraightway theſe princes, who had taken no ſteps againſt Wenceſlaus when he was made, aſſemble to depoſe him.

After many aſſemblies of electors, princes, and deputies of towns, a ſolemn diet is held at Lanſtein near Mentz. The three eccleſiaſtical electors, together with the palatine, formally depoſe the emperor in the preſence of many princes, who only aſſiſt as witneſſes. The electors having the ſole right of chooſing, draw from it the neceſſary concluſion of their having the ſole right of vacating. They revoke the alienations that had been purchaſed from the emperor; but this makes not Viſconti leſs abſolute from Piedmont to the gates of Venice.

The act of depoſing Wenceſlaus bears date the 20th of Auguſt in the morning. The electors, a few days after, chooſe for emperor Frederic duke of Brunſwick,

* All the other hiſtorians ſay, that, far from heaping up money, he became ſo extravagant, that all his revenues were inſufficient to defray the monſtrous expence of his houſekeeping.

who is aſſaſſinated by a count Waldeck, while preparing for his coronation.

ROBERT, Count Palatine of the Rhine.

Thirty-sixth Emperor.

1400.

ROBERT, count palatine of the Rhine, is elected at Rens by the ſame four electors. His election could not poſſibly have been on the 22d of Auguſt, as hath been aſſerted, becauſe Wenceſlaus was depoſed on the 20th, and there muſt certainly have been more than two days conſumed in chooſing the duke of Brunſwick, preparing for his coronation, and aſſaſſinating him.

Robert, according to cuſtom, preſents himſelf armed at the gates of Frankfort, and makes his entry there at the end of ſix weeks and three days. This is the laſt example we have of this cuſtom.

Some princes and towns ſtill hold out for Wenceſlaus, as a few Romans regretted Nero. The ma-
1401. giſtrates of the free town of Aix-la-Chapelle ſhut their gates againſt Robert, who wanted to be crowned there. He remains at Cologne with the archbiſhop.

To gain the Germans he is willing to recover the Milaneſe for the empire, from which Wenceſlaus had divided it. He forms an alliance with the towns of Swiſſerland and Suabia, as if he was only a prince of the empire, and raiſes troops againſt Viſconti. The circumſtance of things was favourable. Venice and Florence were already arming againſt the formidable power of this new duke of Lombardy.

Being in Tirol, he ſent a challenge to Galeazo, beginning, "To John Galeazo, count of Verona," &c. To which was anſwered, "To you, Robert of Bavaria, we duke of Milan, by the grace of God, and of Wenceſlaus," &c. After which he promiſes to beat him, and keeps his word, in the defiles of the mountains.

Several

Several princes, who had accompanied the emperor, retire with their few remaining ſoldiers; and Robert at length wanders away alone.

John Galeazo remains maſter of all Lombardy, and protector of the neighbouring towns, in ſpite of them. 1402,

He dies, leaving, among other children, one daughter, married to the duke of Orleans, 1403. the ſource of ſo many unhappy wars.

Upon his death, one of the popes, Boniface, who was neither firmly ſettled in Rome, nor acknowledged by half Europe, makes a ſucceſsful uſe of the hatred which the conqueſts of John Galeazo had inſpired, and poſſeſſes himſelf, by his intrigues, of Bologna, Peruſa, Ferrara, and of many towns of the ancient inheritance of the counteſs Matilda, which the holy ſee had always claimed.

Wenceſlaus, awaking from his lethargy, takes it in his head at laſt to defend the imperial crown againſt Robert. They mutually accept of the king of France's mediation, whom the electors pray to come to pronounce judgment between Wenceſlaus and Robert at Cologne, where both ſhould be preſent, and ſubmit themſelves to him.

Very likely the electors aſked the king of France's judgment, becauſe they knew he was not in a condition to give it. The return of his malady hindered him from governing his own dominion. Could he then come to decide between two emperors?

The depoſed Wenceſlaus has now ſome hopes from his brother Sigiſmund king of Hungary, who, by a whimſical chance, is himſelf dethroned, and impriſoned in his own kingdom.

The Hungarians chooſe Ladiſlaus king of Naples for their king, who ſcarcely arrives on the frontiers of Hungary before Naples revolts; and he returns to extinguiſh the rebellion.

Let us here draw a picture of Europe. One ſees her divided by two popes; Germany rent by two emperors; the diſagreement in Italy after Viſconti's death; the Venetians poſſeſſing themſelves of one part of Lombardy, the Genoeſe of another; Piſa ſubject to Florence; hor-

rible troubles in France during the madneſs of the king; civil wars in England; the beſt provinces in Spain overrun by the Moors; the Turks advancing towards Greece; and the empire of Conſtantinople drawing towards a concluſion.

Robert, nevertheleſs, purchaſes ſome little territories ſurrounding hi palatinate; the biſhop of Straſ-
1404. burg ſells him Offenburg, Celle, and other ſignories. This is almoſt all that remains to him of the empire.

The duke of Orleans, brother to Charles VI. buys the duchy of Luxemburg from Joſhua marquis of Moravia, to whom Wenceſlaus had ſold it. Sigiſmund had diſpoſed alſo of his right to the homage of it. Thus the duchies of Luxemburg and Milan are, by their new poſſeſſors, looked upon as detached from the empire.

The new dukes of Luxemburg and of Lorrain go to war without the empire's ſiding with either.
1405. Had things continued thus a few years longer, there had remained neither empire nor Germanic body.

The marquis of Baden and the count of Wirtenburg make with impunity a league with Straſburg
1406. and the towns of Suabia againſt the imperial authority. The purport of the treaty was, "That, in caſe the emperor preſumed to meddle with the rights of any of them, they ſhould unitedly make war upon him."

The Swiſs ſtrengthen themſelves daily. The electors ravage the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria in Sondgau and in Alſace.

While the imperial authority daily declines, the ſchiſm of the church continues. No ſooner one
1407, anti-pope dies, but his party ſet up another. Theſe ſcandals would have made all people
1408. ſhake off the yoke of Rome, had they been more reaſonable and ſpirited, and had not the princes always had it in their heads to have a pope of their party, that they might have ſomething of the arms of religion therewith to oppoſe their enemies. This is the real reaſon of the many leagues that have been known between

between the ſee of Rome and many kings; of ſo many contradictions; excommunications demanded privately by ſome, and deſpiſed by others.

The church began already to dread learning, wit, and the polite arts: they had travelled from the court of Robert king of Naples to Florence, where they had erected their empire. The growing emulation of the univerſity began to clear up ſome knotty points: one half of Italy was at enmity with popes; nevertheleſs the Italians, more prudent than other nations, never eſtabliſhed any ſect againſt the church. They often made war upon the Roman court, but never on the Roman church. The Albigenſes and the Vaudois had now begun to appear near the frontiers of France. Wickliff roſe up in England *. John Hus, a doctor of the new univerſity of Prague, and confeſſor to the queen of Bohemia, wife of Wenceſlaus, having read Wickliff's manuſcripts, preached up his opinions at Prague. Rome did not expect even the firſt rays of erudition from a country which ſhe had ſo long ſtiled barbarous. The doctrine of John Hus conſiſted chiefly of giving to the church certain rights, which the holy ſee pretended to reſerve to herſelf.

The times are favourable. There has been, ever ſince the birth of ſchiſm, a ſucceſſion of anti-popes on each ſide; and it was extremely difficult to know on which ſide was the Holy Ghoſt.

The eccleſiaſtical throne being thus ſplit in two, each half is confuſed and bloody. The ſame fate attends thirty epiſcopal ſees. A biſhop, confirmed by one pope, diſputes his cathedral ſword in hand with one approved of by another.

At Liege, for example, there are two biſhops who ſtir up a bloody war. John of Bavaria, choſen by a part of the chapter, contends with one elected by another part; and as the oppoſed popes had only bulls to beſtow, John

* Wickliff, who was principal of Baliol college in Oxford, wrote and preached againſt the infallibility and ſupremacy of the pope, the temporal power of eccleſiaſtics, the order of Mendicants, auricular confeſſion, and the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation.

John of Bavaria calls in to his ſuccour John duke of Burgundy with an army. In fine, to ſettle which ſhall have the cathedral of Liege, the town is ſacked, and almoſt reduced to aſhes.

So many evils, which in general it is impoſſible to remedy until they come to extremes, at laſt produce the council of Piſa, whither ſeveral cardinals retiring, ſummon the reſt of the church. This council is afterwards transferred to Conſtance.

1409. If there was a poſſibility of extinguiſhing the ſchiſm which had ſo long raged over Chriſtian Europe, in a legal and canonical manner, it was by the authority of this council.

Two anti-popes, the ſucceſſors of two anti-popes, lend their names to this civil and ſacred war. One is the fierce Peter de Luna; the other Corrario, a Venetian.

The council of Piſa declares them both unworthy of the papal throne. Twenty-four cardinals, with the conſent of the council, chuſe Philargi, a native of Candia, on the 17th of June 1409. Philargi, the lawful pope, dies in about ten months. All the cardinals that are now at Rome unanimouſly elect Balthazar Coſſa, who aſſumes the name of John XXIII. He had been brought up in the church and in arms. Being made a deacon from a pirate, he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his progreſs on the coaſt of Naples in favour of Urban. He had ſome time ſince purchaſed, at a very dear rate, a cardinal's hat, and a miſtreſs named Catharine, whom he carried off from her huſband. At the head of a ſmall army he recovered Bologna from the Viſconti. He was a ſoldier without morals; but nevertheleſs he was a pope canonically elected.

The ſchiſm ſeems now to be ended by the laws of the church; but the politics of certain princes give it ſtill a being, if we can call by the name of politics that ſpirit of jealouſy, of intrigue, of rapine, of fear, and of expectation, which ſets the world in a flame.

A diet was aſſembled at Frankfort in 1409, at which the emperor preſides, and is attended by ambaſſadors from the kings of France, England, and Poland. And what

what enſues? The emperors ſupport one faction of anti-popes, and France another; the emperor and empire believing the right of aſſembling councils to be theirs. The diet of Frankfort treats the council of Piſa as an unlawful aſſembly, and demands a regular council. Thus it happened that the council of Piſa, when they imagined every thing ſettled, had, inſtead thereof, left Europe three popes for two.

The canonical pope was John XXIII. choſen ſolemnly at Rome; the two others were Corrario and Peter de Luna. Corrario wandered about from town to town; Peter de Luna was, by order of the court of France, ſhut up in Avignon, where, without acknowledging him, they kept this phantom to produce upon occaſion, in oppoſition to others in the ſame buſineſs.

While Europe is thus diſturbed by popes, a bloody war breaks out between Poland and the Teutonic knights-maſters of Pruſſia, about 1410. ſome boats laden with corn. Theſe knights, inſtituted at firſt to ſerve the Germans in their hoſpitals, were at length become a militia ſomething like the Mammelukes.

The knights are defeated; they loſe Thorn, Elbing, and many other towns, which remain in the hands of Poland.

The emperor Robert dies the 10th of May at Openheim. Wenceſlaus ſtill calls himſelf emperor, without performing any of the imperial functions.

JOSHUA.

JOSHUA.

Thirty-seventh Emperor.

1410.

WENCELAUS was no more emperor, except at Prague among his domeſtics. Sigiſmund his brother claims the empire. Joſhua, margrave of Brandenburgh and Moravia, his couſin, alſo demands it.

Joſhua not only diſputes the empire with his couſin, but Brandenburgh alſo.

The elector Palatine Lewis, eldeſt ſon to the laſt emperor Robert, the archbiſhop of Triers, and the ambaſſadors of Sigiſmund, name Sigiſmund emperor at Frankfort.

Mentz, Cologne, the Saxon ambaſſador, and a deputy from Brandenburgh in favour of Joſhua, elect Joſhua in the ſame town.

Wenceſlaus at Prague proteſts againſt theſe two elections. Germany has now three emperors, as well as the church three popes, without either in reality having one.

SIGISMUND,

King of Bohemia and of Hungary, Margrave of Brandenburg.

Thirty-eighth Emperor.

1411.

BY the death of Joſhua three months after his election, Germany is delivered from a civil war, which he would not have been able by himſelf to ſupport, but which would have been carried on in his name.

Sigiſmund is emperor both nominally and effectually.

This election is confirmed by all the electors the 21ſt of July.

The towns at that time had no biſhops but by the deciſion of battle; for in the canvaſſing elections, John

XXIII. approving one biſhop, and Corrario another, produced a civil war, which happened at Cologne as well as at Liege. The archbiſhop Theodoric, of the houſe of Mœurs, does not take poſſeſſion of his ſee till he had defeated his competitor, who was of the houſe of Berg, in a bloody battle.

The Teutonic knights take up arms againſt Poland. They are ſo formidable, that Sigiſmund leagues privately with Poland againſt them. Poland at length cedes Pruſſia to the knights, and the grand-maſter becomes inſenſibly a conſiderable ſovereign.

The great ſchiſm of the Weſt is in ſome meaſure an embaraſſment to Sigiſmund: he 1412. ſees himſelf king of Hungary, margrave of Brandenburg, and emperor: titles he would willingly confirm to his poſterity. The Venetians, having aggrandized themſelves much, had, in the time of a cruſade, conquered part of Dalmatia: he defeats them at Frial, and joins that part of Dalmatia to Hungary.

On the other hand, Ladiſlaus, or Launcelot, that king of Hungary whom he had expelled, makes himſelf maſter of Rome, and of all the country to Florence. Pope John XXIII. had at firſt, like his predeceſſors, called him in to his defence, and by that means given himſelf a dangerous maſter, fearing he ſhould have found one in Sigiſmund. This forced ſtep of John ſoon coſt him the pontifical chair.

John XXIII. to extirpate ſchiſm and confirm his own election, transfers the remain- 1413. der of the council of Piſa to Rome, where he ought to have had more ſtrength. The emperor convokes a council at Conſtance to deſtroy the pope. One ſees few Italians popes that are eaſily duped. This one was entirely duped, both by Sigiſmund and the king of Naples, Ladiſlaus or Launcelot. This prince, now maſter of Rome, became his enemy, and the emperor ſtill more ſo. The emperor writes to the anti-popes, to Peter de Luna, now at Arragon, and to Corrario, who had taken refuge at Rimini; but both theſe fugitive popes proteſt againſt the council of Conſtance.

Launcelot

Launcelot dies. The pope, delivered from one of his maſters, ought not to have put himſelf into the hands of another. He goes to Conſtance, hoping the protection of Frederic duke of Auſtria, inheritor of the Auſtrian hatred to the houſe of Luxemburgh. This prince in his turn, protected by the pope, accepts of him, *in partibus*, the title of General of the Troops of the Church, and with it a penſion of ſix thouſand golden florins, as vain as his commiſſion. The pope unites himſelf alſo to the marquis of Baden, and ſome other princes. At laſt he enters Conſtance the 28th of October, attended by nine cardinals, in great ſtate.

In the mean time Sigiſmund is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and all the electors aſſiſt at the imperial feaſt in their proper ſtations.

Sigiſmund arrives at Conſtance on Chriſtmas-day; the duke of Saxony carrying the ſword of the
1414. empire naked before him; the burgrave of Nuremberg, whom he had made governor of Brandenburg, bearing the ſceptre. The golden globe was borne by his ſtep-father the count de Cillei, this not being an electoral office. The pope attended at church, where the emperor aſſiſts at maſs in quality of deacon. He reads the goſpel; but no feet are kiſſed, no ſtirrup is held, nor is there a horſe led by the bridle. The pope preſents him with a ſword. There were three thrones erected; one for the emperor, one for the pope, and one for the empreſs; the emperor being in the middle.

John XXIII. promiſes to reſign the papal chair, in caſe the anti-popes ſhould alſo quit theirs,
1415. and provided, "that his reſignation every way appeared to contribute to the utility and welfare of the church." This laſt clauſe ruined him. He was either forced to this declaration, or the buſineſs of a pirate had ſpoiled him for a pope. Sigiſmund kiſſed John's feet as ſoon as John had read him the particular form. And this loſt him the papacy.

Sigiſmund is eaſily maſter of the council by ſurrounding it with ſoldiers. Here he appeared in all his glory: there

there were preſent the electors of Saxony, of Mentz, and the elector Palatine; the governor of Brandenburg; the dukes of Bavaria, Auſtria, and Sileſia; 108 counts; 200 barons, who at this time were ſomething, and twenty-ſeven ambaſſadors, who there repreſented their ſovereigns. They vied in luxury and magnificence, as may be eaſily inferred by the number of jewellers, being 500, who came at this time to Conſtance. There were alſo reckoned 500 muſicians; and what the cuſtoms of theſe times make very credible, there were 718 courtezans protected by the magiſtrate of the town.

The pope is obliged to fly, in the diſguiſe of a poſtillion, to the territories of John of Auſtria, count of Tirol. This prince is forced to deliver up the pope, and to aſk the emperor's pardon upon his knees.

Whilſt the pope is priſoner in a caſtle belonging to his protector the duke of Auſtria, they prepare his proceſs. He is accuſed of every crime, depoſed on the 29th of May, and the council, by the ſentence, reſerves to itſelf the right of puniſhing him.

The 6th of July, of the ſame year 1415, John Hus, confeſſor to the queen of Bohemia, and doctor in divinity, is burnt alive by ſentence of the fathers of the council, notwithſtanding a very formal protection that Sigiſmund had granted him. The emperor delivers him into the hands of the elector Palatine, who gives him up to execution, he continuing to praiſe God till his life was ſtifled by the flames.

Theſe are the principal propoſitions for which he was condemned to this horrid puniſhment. "That there is but one catholic church, which contains in her boſom all the choſen." "That temporal lords ought to oblige prieſts to obſerve the law; and that a pope is not the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt."

"*Do you believe the univerſale à parte rei?* ſays a cardinal to him. *I believe the univerſale à parte mentis*, anſwered John Hus: *You don't believe, in the real preſence then!* cried the cardinal. It is manifeſt that they intended to burn John, and they did it."

Sigiſmund,

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Sigiſmund, after the condemnation of the pope and of John Hus, taken up with the glory of
1416. extirpating ſchiſm, prevails upon the kings of Caſtile, of Arragon, and of Navarre, at Narbonne, to renounce their obedience to Peter de Luna.

He goes thence to Chamberi, in order to erect Savoy into a duchy, and gives the inveſtiture of it to Amadeus VIII.

He goes to Paris, ſits in the king's place, in the parliament, where he makes a knight. It is ſaid that this was too much, and that the parliament was blamed for having allowed it. Why ſo? If the king had given him his place he ought alſo to approve of his conferring an honour which was barely titular.

He goes from Paris to London. He is received at his landing by the nobility, who advance in the water ſword in hand to meet him, to do him honour, and at the ſame time to admoniſh him, that he was not to act as maſter. This is an acknowledgment of the right which he has in the opinion of ſome people to the great name of Cæſar.

He ſaid, that he came to London, to negotiate a peace between France and England. It was in thoſe moſt unhappy times of the French monarchy, that the Engliſh king, Henry V. inſiſted upon France by conqueſt and inheritance.

The emperor, inſtead of making peace, joins England againſt unhappy France. He has ſome advantage in Hungary. The Turks, who had ravaged the empire of the Caliphs, and threatened Conſtantinople, overran the earth even from India to Greece. They laid waſte Hungary and Auſtria; but as yet theſe were but the incurſions of a band of robbers. Troops are ſent againſt them, and they retreat.

Whilſt Sigiſmund is on his voyage, the council, after having burnt John Hus, ſearch out another victim in the perſon of Jerome of Prague. Jerome of Prague, a diſciple of John Hus, was greatly his ſuperior in wit and eloquence. He had at firſt ſubſcribed to the condemnation of his maſter, but was afterwards aſhamed of it.

it. He looked upon this recantation as his only crime and ſubmitted to death with the ſame intrepidity on the firſt of June, 1416. Poggio, the Florentine, ſecretary to John the XXIII. and one of the reſtorers of letters, who was preſent at the trial and puniſhment of Jerome, ſays, that he ſpoke with the eloquence of Socrates, and braved the flames, as Socrates drank hemlock.

Socrates indeed and theſe two Bohemians, were condemned becauſe they were hated by the ſophiſts of their reſpective times. But what a difference between the manners of the Athenians and thoſe of the Chriſtians of the 15th century! between the mild death of Socrates and the dreadful puniſhment of fire, into which prieſts are caſt by prieſts!

The popes having pretended to judge of princes, and to depoſe them when they could, the council, without a pope, imagined they had the ſame rights. Frederic of Auſtria, having taken ſome towns near Tirol, which the biſhop of Trent, whom he kept priſoner, reclaimed, the council ordered him to give up the biſhop and the towns, under penalty of being deprived, not only himſelf, but his children and grand-children, of all the fiefs of the church and of the empire. This Frederic of Auſtria, ſovereign of Tirol, flies from Conſtance; his brother Erneſt ſeizes on Tirol, and the emperor puts Frederic under the imperial ban. Matters are made up about the end of the year, Frederic is re-inſtated in Tirol, and his brother Erneſt keeps in Styria, which was his portion; but the Swiſs, who had ſeized ſome towns belonging to the duke of Auſtria, refuſed to give them up, and ſtrengthened their league.

The emperor returns to Conſtance, where, with great pomp, he gives the inveſtiture of Mentz, Saxony, Pomerania, and other principalities, an inveſtiture which muſt be taken at every change of an emperor or of a vaſſal. 1417.

He ſells his electorate of Brandenburg to Frederic de Hohenzollern burgrave of Nuremberg for four hundred thouſand golden florins, which the burgrave had amaſſed, and which in thoſe times was a very conſiderable ſum.

ſum. Some authors ſay, it was only one hundred thouſand, and are the more credible.

Sigiſmund, by contract, reſerves to himſelf the right of repurchaſing Brandenburg for the ſame ſum, in caſe he ſhould have children.

In the ſentence pronounced by the council in the preſence of the emperor againſt pope Peter de Luna, he is declared *perjured, a diſturber of the public peace, an heretic, forſaken of God, and obſtinate.* The title of obſtinate was the only one that he truly merited among them.

The emperor propoſes to the council to reform the church before they create a pope. Many prelates exclaim againſt him as an heretic, and they make a pope without reforming the church.

Twenty-three cardinals and thirty-three prelates of the council, deputies of different nations, aſſemble in a conclave. This is the only example we have of other prelates, beſides cardinals, having a right to vote ſince the ſacred college had reſerved to itſelf the election of popes; for Gregory III. was choſen by the voice of the people.

On the eleventh of November Otho de Colona is choſen, who changes that great name to Martin. The conſecration of this pope was above all others auguſt. The reins of his horſe, as he went to church, were held by the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg. He was followed by one hundred princes, the ambaſſadors of all the kings, and by the entire council.

In the midſt of this great proviſion of the council, and ſuch apparent pains to reſtore peace to
1418. the church, and the empire to its dignity, how was Sigiſmund principally employed? In amaſſing money.

Not content with having ſold his electorate of Brandenburg, he haſtened, during the holding of the council, to ſell, for his own uſe, ſome towns that had been confiſcated, to Frederic of Auſtria. The agreement made, reſtitution ought to have enſued; the delay of which, and his continual want of money, tarniſhed his glory.

The

The new pope Martin V. declares Sigiſmund king of the Romans, by ſupplying the defects of formality which are found in his election of Frankfort.

The pope having promiſed to labour for the reformation of the church, publiſhes ſome conſtitutions reſpecting the revenues of the apoſtolical chamber, and the habits of the clergy.

He grants to the emperor a tenth of the eccleſiaſtical income in Germany, during one year, to indemnify him from the expences of council, and Germany murmurs at it.

The troubles are appeaſed this year in Holland, Brabant, and Hainault. All that is important for hiſtory to remark is, that Sigiſmund acknowledges the province of Hainault not to be held of the empire. Another emperor may afterwards admit the contrary. Hainault another time was, as has been ſeen, held for a little while of the biſhop of Liege.

As feudal right is not a natural right, it being no more than a pretenſion to land cultivated by another, but not the poſſeſſion of a land which we cultivate ourſelves, it has been the ſubject of a thouſand undetermined diſputes.

Very great troubles kindle in Bohemia.

The aſhes of John Hus and Jerome of Prague excite commotions. 1419.

The partizans of theſe two unfortunate men endeavoured to maintain their doctrine and revenge their death. The celebrated John Ziſka puts himſelf at the head of the Huſſites, and endeavours to make uſe of the opportunity given him, by the weakneſs of Wenceſlaus, the fanaticiſm of the Bohemians, and the growing hatred of the people to the clergy, in order to form a powerful party, and eſtabliſh himſelf a government.

Wenceſlaus dies in Bohemia almoſt forgotten. Sigiſmund has the empire now entirely to himſelf. He is king of Hungary and Bohemia, and lord paramount of Sileſia. Had he not diſpoſed of his electorate of Brandenburg he might have founded the moſt powerful houſe in Germany.

It

It is againſt this puiſſant emperor, that John Ziſka riſes, who makes war upon him in his here-
1420. ditary dominions. The monks were oftenеſt victims in this war, and with their blood paid the cruelty of the fathers of Conſtance.

John Ziſka inflames all Bohemia. There were at this time great troubles in Denmark, on account of the duchy of Sleſwick. King Eric ſeizes upon this duchy; but the wars of the Huſſites are much more important, and more nearly concern the empire.

Sigiſmund beſieges Prague, John Ziſka puts him to the rout, and obliges him to raiſe the ſiege. A prieſt marches with him at the head of the Huſſites, who bears a chalice in his hand, as a mark of acting in a double capacity.

A month after, John Ziſka beats the emperor again. This war continued 16 years: had not the emperor violated his own protection, ſo many misfortunes could never have happened.

There had been now for many years no cruſades but againſt Chriſtians. Martin V. cauſed the
1421. Huſſites to be preached againſt in Germany, inſtead of granting the communion with wine.

A biſhop of Triers marches at the head of an army of holy men againſt John Ziſka, who having with him little more than 200 men, cuts them in pieces.

The emperor marches again towards Prague, and is again beaten.

Coribut prince of Lithuania joins Ziſka, in hope of becoming king of Bohemia. Ziſka, who
1422. really merited to be ſo, threatens to leave Prague.

The word Ziſka ſignifies Blind in the Sclavonian tongue, and thus they called this warrior, as Horatius had formerly been named Cocles. He really merited the title of Blind, having loſt both his eyes; and this John the Blind was quite a different ſort of man from the other John the Blind, who was father to Sigiſmund. He believed there was a poſſibility of his reigning, notwith-

notwithſtanding that he had loſt his eyes, while he could conquer and be head of a party.

The emperor, driven out of Bohemia by the avengers of John Hus, had recourſe to his old ſtratagem of ſelling provinces. He ſold Moravia to Albert, duke of Auſtria; this was diſpoſing of what the Huſſites poſſeſſed. Procopius, the Shaven, becauſe he was a prieſt, a very great warrior, becoming the eye and the arm of John Ziſka, defends Moravia againſt the Auſtrians. 1423.

Ziſka, the Blind, ſupports himſelf not only againſt the emperor, but againſt Coribut, who, from his defender, was become his rival. He routs Coribut, after having defeated the emperor. 1424.

Sigiſmund might nevertheleſs have profited by this civil war amongſt his enemies, but he is engaged at the ſame time at a wedding. He aſſiſts at the nuptials of a king of Poland at Preſburg, with great ſtate, while Ziſka drives out his rival Coribut, and enters Prague in triumph.

Ziſka dies in the army, of a contagious diſorder. Nothing is better known than the diſpoſal he is pretended to have made of his body on his death-bed. "Let me be left, ſays he, in the open field. I had rather be eaten by birds than by worms. Let a drum be made of my ſkin; the very ſound of it will put our enemies to flight."

His party does not die with him. It had been formed by Fanaticiſm, and not by Ziſka. Procopius, the Shaven, ſucceeds to his government and reputation.

Bohemia is divided into many factions, but all unite againſt the emperors, who cannot repair the ruins of this country. Coribut returns and is declared king. Procopius makes war at the ſame time with the uſurper and with Sigiſmund. 1425, 1426.

In fine, the empire furniſhes an army of an hundred thouſand men to the emperor, and this army is entirely defeated. They ſay that the ſoldiers of Procopius, who were called Taborites, uſed two-edged axes in this battle, and that by this novelty they gained the victory.

While

While the emperor Sigiſmund is driven out of Bohemia, and that the embers of John Hus
1427. ſet this country, Moravia and Auſtria, in a flame, the wars between the king of Denmark and Holſtein continue. Lubec, Hamburg, Wiſmar, and Stralſund, declare againſt him. And what was the authority of the emperor Sigiſmund? He ſides with Denmark, he writes to the towns to induce them to lay down their arms, and they pay no attention to him. He ſeems to have loſt his credit, not only as king of Bohemia, but alſo as an emperor.

He marches once more an army into his own country, and this army is again beaten by Procopius. Coribut, who calls himſelf king of Bohemia, is put into a convent by his own party, and the emperor has no longer any friends in Bohemia.

It is plain that Sigiſmund was badly ſuccoured by the empire, and that he could not raiſe men in
1428. Hungary. He was burdened with titles and with misfortunes. At length he opens a conference at Preſburg, to make a peace with his ſubjects. The party named the Orphans, who were the moſt powerful at Prague will liſten to no accommodation, but anſwer, *that a free people have no buſineſs with a king.*

Procopius, the Shaven, at the head of an army of his brethren, not unlike that which Crom-
1429, well afterwards formed, followed by the Orphans, the taborites, and the prieſts, who
1430. carried the chalice, continued to beat the imperialiſts. Miſnia, Luſatia, Sileſia, Moravia, Auſtria, and Brandenburg, are laid waſte. A great revolution was now to be feared. Procopius makes uſe of his baggage, by way of intrenchment againſt the German cavalry, with ſucceſs. Theſe intrenchments were called Tabors; he goes on with theſe Tabors, and penetrates to the confines of Franconia. The princes of the empire, involved in wars among themſelves, could not oppoſe theſe irruptions. What has the emperor then to do? He had not known what

it

it was to hold a council, and admit the burning of a couple of prieſts.

During theſe troubles Amurath II. ravages Hungary. The emperor endeavours to engage to his aſſiſtance the duke of Lithuania, and to create him king. But he cannot come to the ſpot; the Polanders prevent him.

He again ſues to the Huſſites for peace; which he cannot obtain; and his troops are again twice beaten. The elector of Brandenburg and the cardinal Julian, the pope's legate, are a ſecond time defeated at Kiſemberg, and that in ſo complete a manner, that Procopius appears to be maſter of the intimidated empire. 1431.

At length the Hungarians, whom Amurath II. had left to breathe, march againſt the conqueror, and ſave Germany, which had otherwiſe been laid waſte.

The Huſſites repulſed at one place, are formidable in all others. The cardinal Julian, not being able to carry on the war, calls a council, and propoſes admitting the Huſſite prieſts.

The council opens at Baſil the twenty-third of May.

The fathers give paſsports for two hundred people, to the Huſſites. 1432.

This council of Baſil, held under Eugene IV. was no other than a prolongation of ſeveral others, ſummoned at different times by Martin V. to meet at Pavia and Sienna. The fathers began with declaring that the pope had no right either to diſſolve their aſſembly or transfer it; and that he ought to ſubmit to them, on pain of puniſhment. The councils regarded themſelves as general ſtates of Europe, judges of popes and kings. They had dethroned John XXIII. at Conſtance, and they intended the ſame compliment for Eugenius IV. at Baſil.

Eugenius, who believed himſelf above the council, diſſolves it; but in vain. He finds himſelf cited to appear there, rather than to preſide; and Sigiſmund takes that opportunity to get himſelf crowned in Lombardy, and afterwards, tho' to no purpoſe, at Rome.

He finds Italy powerful and divided. Philip Viſconti reigns over the Milaneſe, and over Genoa, the unfortunate rival of Venice, which had loſt her liberty, and

now only ſought for maſters. The duke of Milan and the Venetians diſpute about Verona, and other frontiers. The Florentines ſide with the Venetians. Lucca and Sienna declare for the duke of Milan. Sigiſmund is too happy in being protected by this duke, in his journey to Rome, to receive the vain crown of emperor. He then takes part with the council againſt the pope, as he had done before at Conſtance. The fathers proclaim his holineſs a contemner of the court, and give him ſixty days for his appearance, after which they depoſe him.

The fathers of Baſil reſolved to imitate thoſe of Conſtance. But their examples deceived them. Eugenius was powerful at Rome, and the times were no longer the ſame.

The deputies of Bohemia are admitted to the council. John Hus and Jerome of Prague were
1433. burned at Conſtance; their followers are reſpected at Baſil, where their voices are admitted. The Huſſite prieſts who come hither, march only in the train of Procopius the Shaven, who approaches with three hundred armed gentlemen; and the fathers cry out: "This is the conqueror of the church and of the empire." The council allow them the cup at their communion, and they diſpute about the reſt. The emperor arrives at Baſil, where he with great calmneſs ſees his conqueror, and is taken up with a proceſs againſt the pope.

While they argue at Baſil, the Huſſites of Bohemia, joining the Polanders, attack the Teutonic knights, and each party believes itſelf engaged in a holy war. Every ravage is renewed; the Huſſites make war among themſelves.

Procopius quits the council he had intimidated, to go againſt the oppoſite party in Bohemia, and to be beaten. He is killed in a battle near Prague. The victorious faction do what the emperor had never dared to have done. They condemn a great number of priſoners to the ſtake. Theſe heretics ſo long armed, to revenge their deceaſed apoſtle, now caſt each other into the flames.

If

If the princes of the empire left their chief in a time when he could not revenge himſelf, they never neglected the public good. Lewis 1434. of Bavaria, duke of Ingoldſtad, having tyrannized over his vaſſals, being deteſted by his neighbours, and not ſufficiently powerful to defend himſelf, is put under the ban of the empire; and is favoured by giving ſome money to Sigiſmund.

The emperor was, at that time, ſo poor, that he gave up things of the greateſt conſequence for the moſt trifling ſums.

The laſt electoral branch of Saxony, of the ancient houſe of Aſcania, dies, without leaving any children. Many relations lay claim to Saxony. And to obtain this duchy, it coſts the marquis of Miſnia, Frederic the Warlike, an hundred thouſand florins.

The emperor retires to Hungary, to negotiate with his ſubjects of Bohemia. The 1435. ſtates preſcribe the conditions according to which they chooſe to be reconciled, and ſtipulate, among other things, that he ſhall not alter their coin any more. This is a clauſe to his ſhame; but a ſhame common to the princes of thoſe times. The people ſubmit to their ſovereign, neither to be tyrannized over nor fleeced.

At laſt the emperor having accepted the conditions, the Bohemians ſubmit themſelves to him and to the church. Here is a true contract between the king and his people.

Sigiſmund re-enters Prague, and receives 1436, homage again; as newly holding his crown from the choice of the nation. After having 1437. appeaſed other troubles, he cauſes duke Albert of Auſtria, his kinſman, to be acknowledged in Bohemia as heir of the kingdom. This is the laſt event of his life, which happened in December 1437.

ALBERT II. of AUSTRIA.

THIRTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

1438.

IT then began to appear that the houſe of Auſtria would become the moſt powerful in Europe. Albert II. kinſman to Sigiſmund, ſees himſelf king of Bohemia and Hungary, duke of Auſtria, ſovereign of ſeveral other territories, and emperor. He was king of Hungary and Bohemia by election; but when the father and grandfather have been once elected, it is eaſy for their deſcendents to ſet themſelves up an hereditary right.

The party of the Huſſites who were called Calixtins, chooſe for king Caſſimir, brother to the king of Poland, and he muſt fight. The emperor, commanded by Albert the Achilles, then Burgrave of Nuremberg, and afterwards elector of Brandenburg, ſecures the Bohemian crown to Albert II. duke of Auſtria, by repeated victories.

In the great diet of Nuremberg the ancient tribunal of the Auſtrégues is reformed. This was a remedy found out, as has been ſeen, to prevent the effuſion of blood in the quarrels of the lords of the empire. The offended were to name three princes as arbitrators, who ought to be approved of by the ſtates of the empire, and give judgment within a year.

Germany is divided into four parts, called circles, Bavaria, the Rhine, Suabia, and Weſtphalia. The electoral territories are not compriſed within theſe four circles. Each elector, from his own dignity, governing his territories without ſubjecting them to this regulation. Each circle has a duke or general, and each member of the circle is taxed to a certain degree, either in men or money, for the public ſecurity.

In this diet they aboliſh an old law which ſtill ſubſiſted in ſeveral parts of Weſtphalia, and being contradictory to all law, was unworthy the name of one. It was called the Secret Judgment, and condemned a man

man to death, without his knowing any thing of the matter.

This manner of judging, which is little better than aſſaſſinating, has been uſed in many ſtates, but more particularly in that of Venice, when any preſſing danger, or the intereſt of the ſtate, which is ſuperior to all law, can give countenance to ſuch barbarity. All ill-founded tradition would fain perſuade us, that Charlemagne I. eſtabliſhed this bloody tribunal, to keep the conquered and headſtrong Saxons within due bounds. Some judges of Weſtphalia ſtill made uſe of this cruel cuſtom: All the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne ought to bluſh; for having left the honour of ſuppreſſing it to Albert of Auſtria.

The council of Baſil continued ſtill on the 1439.
one hand to trouble the Weſt; on the other the Turks and Tartars, who diſpute the Eaſt, carry their devaſtations to the frontiers of Hungary.

The Greek emperor, John Paleologus, who had ſcarce any more dominions left than Conſtantinople, vainly imagines it in his power to obtain ſuccour of the Chriſtians; he humbles himſelf ſo far as to come to Rome, to ſubmit the Greek church to the papal juriſdiction.

John Paleologus and his patriarch were received in the council of Ferrara, a council ſet up by Eugenius IV. in oppoſition to that of Baſil. The Greek emperor and his clergy, in their ſubmiſſion, really maintain, to all appearance, the majeſty of their empire, and the dignity of their church. Neither of theſe fugitives kiſſed the pope's feet; they deteſted this ceremony, received by the emperors of the Weſt, who call themſelves the ſovereigns of the popes. Nevertheleſs, they had, in the firſt ages, kiſſed the feet of the Greek biſhops.

Paleologus and his prelates follow the pope from Ferrara to Florence. There it is ſolemnly decided and agreed upon, by the repreſentatives of the Latin and Greek churches, "That the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father and the Son by the production of inſpiration; the Father communicates every thing to the ſon, except his paternity; and that the ſon, from all eternity,

has had a productive virtue, whereby the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Son, as from the Father."

The ſubmiſſion of this primacy was a great, intereſting, and glorious point for the ſee of Rome. On the 6th of July the pope was ſolemnly acknowledged for head of the univerſal church.

This union of the Greeks and Latins was ſoon after diſavowed by the whole Greek church; but the victory of pope Eugenius was not for this the leſs glorious. While he renders this ſervice to the Latins, and finiſhes, to the beſt of his power, the ſchiſms of the Eaſt and Weſt, the council of Baſil depoſe him from the papal chair, declaring him Rebellious, Simoniac, Schiſmatical, Heretical, and Perjured.

If we conſider the council according to this decree, they will appear only as a troop of factious ſpirits: if we regard the rules of diſcipline which they laid down, then will they appear to us as very wiſe men, and this is becauſe in their depoſition of Eugenius, they were influenced only by paſſions which had no ſhare in their regulations. The moſt auguſt body, when carried away by paſſions, always commits more faults than a ſingle man.

It ought not here to be forgotten, that Paleologus, at his return to Conſtantinople, was become ſo odious to his own church for having ſubmitted to that of Rome, that his own ſon refuſed him burial.

Nevertheleſs, the Turks advanced even to Semandria in Hungary. In the midſt of theſe alarms, Albert of Auſtria, from whom much was expected, dies on the 27th of October, leaving the empire weak as he had found it, and Europe unhappy.

FREDE-

FREDERIC of AUSTRIA.

Third of that name.

THIRTY-NINTH EMPEROR.

1440.

THERE is a meeting at Frankfort, as uſual, for the electing a king of the Romans. The ſtates of Bohemia, who were without a ſovereign, enjoyed in common with the other electors, a right to vote, a privilege which never had been given to any but Bohemia.

Lewis, landgrave of Heſſe, refuſes the imperial crown. Hiſtory furniſhes many examples of the ſame nature. The empire had now for a long time been looked upon as a dowerleſs ſpouſe, who had need of a very rich huſband.

Frederic of Auſtria, duke of Stiria, ſon of Erneſt, who was much leſs powerful than the landgrave of Heſſe, is not ſo difficult.

In the ſame year, Albert, duke of Bavaria, refuſes the crown of Bohemia, which was offered to him; but this new refuſal has its foundation upon a motive which princes ought to ſet themſelves as an example. The widow of the emperor, king of Bohemia and Hungary, duke of Auſtria, was, after his death, brought to bed of a ſon, named Ladiſlaus. Albert of Bavaria believed that ſome reſpect ought to be paid to the blood of this infant. He looked upon Bohemia as the child's inheritance. He would not deprive him of it. Intereſt does not always ſway ſovereigns. There is alſo ſome honour amongſt them; and they ought to conſider, that when this honour is ſecure, it is ſuperior to uncertain dominion.

After the example of the Bavarian, the emperor Frederic III. alſo refuſes the crown of Bohemia: thus did the precedent of virtue influence. Frederic III. ſcorns to be leſs generous than the duke of Bavaria: he charges himſelf with the guardianſhip of the child La-

diſlaus, who, by birth-right, ought to poſſeſs the Higher Auſtria, wherein is Vienna and was called to the throne of Bohemia and Hungary by the voice of the people, who in him reſpected the blood whence he ſprung.

The council of Friſingen is held, in which thoſe, who are killed in tournament, or who have not been confeſſed within the year, are deprived of burial. Theſe ſtrange and ridiculous decrees have never any force.

A great diet at Mentz. The anti-pope, Amadeus of Savoy (Felix,) created by the council of
1441. Baſil, ſends to that diet a Legate à latere, where he was obliged to quit the croſs and purple wich Amadeus had beſtowed on him. This Amadeus was a whimſical ſort of a man, who, having renounced his duchy of Savoy for the unruffled life of a hermit, quitted his retreat at Ripaille, in order to be pope. The fathers of the council of Baſil had elected him, though he was a ſecular. They have in this violated all cuſtom, and theſe fathers were no longer regarded at Rome, but as a ſeditious faction. The diet of Mentz hold the balance between the two popes.

The knights of the Teutonic order govern ſo deſpotically in Pruſſia, that the people give themſelves up to Poland.

The emperor educates at his court Ladiſlaus the young king of Bohemia, and the kingdom is governed in the name of this young prince; but in the midſt of contradictions and troubles. All the electors and many princes aſſiſt at the coronation of the emperor at Aix la Chapelle. Each of them is followed by a little army. In thoſe days of ceremony they placed their glory in appearing with magnificence and oſtentation; in our days they place it in not appearing at all.

A great example of the liberty of the northern people. Eric king of Denmark and of Sweden, deſigns his nephew to ſucceed him in his throne. The ſtates oppoſe him therein; declaring that by their fundamental laws the crown ought not to be hereditary. Their fundamental laws at this day are very different. They depoſe their old king Eric, who aſpired at being too abſolute, and

and called to the crown, or rather to the firſt magiſtracy, Chriſtopher of Bavaria.

Politics, laws and cuſtoms were then very different from what they are in our days. 1443, 1444. France in that age was ſeen united with the houſe of Auſtria againſt the Swiſs. The Dauphin, afterwards Charles VII. marches againſt the Swiſs, whoſe liberty France ought rather to defend. Authors ſpeak of a great victory gained by the Dauphin near Baſil; if he had gained ſuch a great battle, how happened it that he could not, without ſome difficulty, obtain leave to enter Baſil with his domeſtics? This is certain, that the Swiſs never loſt that liberty for which they fought, and this liberty gained every day additional ſtrength, in ſpite of their diſſenſions.

It was not againſt the Swiſs he ought then to have marched; he ought to have gone againſt the Turks. Amurath II. after having abdicated the empire, reaſſumed it at the intreaty of the Janiſſaries. This Turk, who might be ranked amongſt philoſophers, was numbered with heroes. He puſhed his conqueſts in Hungary. The king of Poland, Uladiſlaus, the ſecond of the Jagellóns, cauſed himſelf to be elected by the Hungarians, to the prejudice of young Ladiſlaus of Auſtria, brought up always near the emperor. He had concluded with Amurath the moſt ſolemn peace that ever Chriſtians made with Muſſulmans.

Amurath and Uladiſlaus ſolemnly ſwear to it. The one upon the alcoran, the other upon the goſpel.

Cardinal Julian Ceſarini, the pope's legate in Germany, a man famous for his proceedings againſt the partizans of John Hus, for having formerly preſided at the council of Baſil, and for the cruſade, which he had preached againſt the Turks, was at that time, by too blind a zeal, the cauſe of reproach and misfortune to the Chriſtians.

The peace was ſcarcely confirmed before the cardinal excited them to the breaking of it. He flattered himſelf he might have engaged the Venetians and Genoeſe to aſſemble a formidable fleet, and that the rouſed Greeks would make one laſt effort. A pretext for violating the

oaths was wanting. Amurath had obſerved all the conditions with ſuch exactneſs, that he left no ſubterfuge to the infringers. This legate had no other reſource than that of perſuading Uladiſlaus, the Hungarian chiefs, and the Polanders, that they could violate their oath. He harangued, he wrote, he aſſured them that the peace ſworn upon the goſpel was to no effect, becauſe it was made againſt the inclination of the pope. In effect, the pope, who was then Eugenius IV. wrote to Uladiſlaus, "That he commanded him to break a peace, which could not be made without the concurrence of the holy ſee." We already ſee the introduction of that maxim, "That no faith is to be kept with heretics." From whence it is to be concluded, that it ought not to be kept with Mahometans.

Julian at length prevails. All the chiefs allow themſelves to be carried away by the torrent, and above all, John Corvinus Huniades, that famous general of the Hungarian armies, who had ſo often beat Amurath and Mahomet II.

Uladiſlaus, ſeduced by falſe hopes, and ſtill more by falſe morality, ſurpriſes the territories of the Sultan. He is ſoon met near the Uxine bridge, in the country formerly called Mæſia, now called Bulgaria. Battle is given him near the town of the Varna.

Amurath carried in his boſom the treaty of peace they had ſo lately concluded. He drew it out in the midſt of the fight, while his troops were in motion, and prayed God to puniſh the perjured, and revenge this outrage committed againſt the law of nations.

This is what gave riſe to the fable, that the peace had been ſworn upon the euchariſt, that the hoſt had been lodged in the hands of Amurath, and that it was to this hoſt that he addreſſed himſelf in the time of battle. The perjured this time received the chaſtiſement they deſerved, the Chriſtians were vanquiſhed, after a long reſiſtance. King Uladiſlaus was run through the body, his head, cut off by a Janiſſary, was carried, in triumph, from rank to rank through the Turkiſh army, and this ſpectacle finiſhed the rout. Some people have affirmed, that the cardinal Julian, who aſſiſted in this

this battle, endeavouring, in his flight, to paſs a river, fell in and was drowned by the weight of the gold which he carried about him; others ſay, that the Hungarians themſelves killed him. It is certain that he periſhed in this journey.

Germany ought to have oppoſed the progreſs of the Ottomans. But at that time 1445. Frederic, who had called in the French to his aſſiſtance againſt the Swiſs, ſeeing that his defenders over-run Alſatia and the neighbouring country, goes to chaſe out theſe dangerous allies. Charles VII. reclaims the right of protection in the town of Toul, although it was an imperial town. He exacts, under the ſame title, preſents from Mentz and Verdun. This right of protection upon theſe towns in their indigence, is the origin of that ſovereignty which the kings of France have at length obtained.

Inſtead of carrying on a long, briſk, and well-conducted war againſt the Turks, a ſhort one is made upon the frontiers againſt the French.

The eccleſiaſtical war between the council of Baſil and pope Eugenius IV. ſtill ſubſiſts. Eugenius bethinks himſelf of depoſing the archbiſhops of Cologne and Triers; becauſe they had been partizans of the council of Baſil.

He had no right to depoſe them as archbiſhops, and yet much leſs as electors. But what does he do? He names at Cologne a nephew of the duke of Burgundy, and at Triers a natural brother of that prince; for a pope can never be either puiſſant, or have it in his power to hurt, but in arming one prince againſt another.

The other electors and princes take part with the two biſhops vainly depoſed. The 1446. pope had foreſeen this; he propoſes an accommodation, re-eſtabliſhes the two biſhops, he ſoothes the Germans; and, in fine, Germany, which had remained neuter in the diſpute between the anti-pope and him, acknowledges Eugenius to be the only lawful pope. The council of Baſil ſoon falls into contempt, and in a ſhort time diſſolves inſenſibly of itſelf.

A Germanic

A Germanic convocation. This council had nevertheleſs eſtabliſhed certain uſeful regulations,
1447. which the Germanic body afterwards adopted; and which it ſupports to this day. The elections in the cathedral churches and abbies are re-eſtabliſhed.

The pope never named prieſts to ſmall benefices, but during ſix months of the year.

There is nothing paid to the apoſtolical chamber for ſmall benefices; many other laws of the ſame nature are confirmed by pope Nicholas V. who thereby pays homage to the council of Baſil, which in Rome is looked upon as an unlawful aſſembly.

The Sultan, Amurath II. again defeats the Hungarians, commanded by the famous Huniades;
1448. yet Germany does not arm itſelf upon theſe dreadful news.

Germany is taken up with domeſtic wars. Albert the Achilles, elector of Brandenburg, engages
1449. in one againſt the town of Nuremberg, which he endeavours to ſubdue; almoſt all the imperial towns join in the defence of Nuremberg, while the emperor remains a quiet ſpectator of theſe diviſions.

He does not chooſe to give the young Ladiſlaus up to Bohemia, where he was demanded; and leaves ſome room to ſuſpect his intending to keep to himſelf the poſſeſſions of his pupil.

This young Ladiſlaus ought to be entirely king of Bohemia, duke of a part of Auſtria, of Moravia, and Sileſia; theſe were, indeed, ſufficient temptations for virtue.

Amadeus of Savoy reſigns the papacy *, and becomes again an hermit at Ripaille.

Bohemia,

* But not before he had endeavoured to bribe the emperor to acknowledge him, with the offer of his daughter, a maiden of exquiſite beauty, and a portion of two hundred thouſand ducats. This propoſal Frederic rejected with diſdain; ſaying to one of his courtiers, by way of pleaſantry, "This man would fain purchaſe holineſs, if he could but find a ſeller."

Bohemia, Hungary, and the Higher Auſtria, again demand the young Ladiſlaus for their ſovereign. 1450, 1451, 1452.

A gentleman, named Eiſinger, ſtirs up Auſtria in favour of Ladiſlaus. Frederic ſtill excuſes himſelf, under pretence of Ladiſlaus not being as yet of age. He ſends his brother Albert of Auſtria to quell the ſedition, and take hold of that opportunity to be crowned in Italy.

Alphonſo of Arragon reigned at that time in Naples, and joined the intereſt of the emperor, becauſe he feared the too powerful Venetians. They were maſters of Ravenna, of Bergamo, of Breſcia, and of Crema. Milan was in the hands of a peaſant's ſon, who was become the moſt powerful man in Italy. This was Francis Sforza, the ſucceſſor of the Viſconti. Florence was in league with the pope againſt Sforza. The holy ſee had recovered Bologna. All the other principalities belonged to different ſovereigns who had maſtered them. Things were in this ſtate at the journey of Frederic III. into Italy; a journey the moſt uſeleſs and moſt mortifying that ever emperor made. He was attacked by robbers on the road to Rome †: they took part of his baggage, and he ran the riſk of his life. What a manner of travelling was this for him, who came to be crowned Cæſar, and chief of the Chriſtian world?

He made one innovation at Rome, ſubſiſting even to this day. Frederic III. dares not go to Milan, to propoſe their giving him the crown of Lombardy. Nicolas V. himſelf gives it him at Rome, and this alone gives the popes a claim to the right of creating the king of the Lombards, as they create the kings of Naples.

The

† Does not Mr. Voltaire mean a tumult at Viterbo, excited by the populace, in order to make prize of the canopy under which the emperor rode, and the horſe on which he was mounted? On this occaſion he ſnatched a truncheon from one of his attendants, and, charging the multitude, overturned all that fell in his way. The pope's legates, by whom he was attended, followed his example, as did the gentlemen of his retinue, and, after a long ſcuffle, the mob was entirely routed.

The pope confirms to Frederic III. the guardianſhip of young Ladiſlaus, king of Bohemia and Hungary, and duke of Auſtria, a guardianſhip of which endeavours had been uſed to deprive him, and the pope excommuniates all thoſe, who had diſputed it with him.

This bull is all that the emperor carried with him from Rome, and with it he is beſieged at Neuſtadt in Auſtria, by thoſe whom he called rebels; that is to ſay, by thoſe who demanded his pupil.

He at laſt gives up the young Ladiſlaus to his people. He has been a good deal praiſed for being a faithful tutor, although he reſigned his charge but by force of arms. Would they have made it a virtue in him not to have attempted his pupil's life?

This year was the memorable epocha of the taking of Conſtantinople by Mahomet II. Certainly
1453. now or never was the time for cruſades. But is it not aſtoniſhing that the Chriſtian powers, who had themſelves, in their ancient cruſades, wreſted Conſtantinople from its lawful maſters, ſhould at length ſuffer it to be taken by the Ottomans? The Venetians had been a long time poſſeſſed of part of Greece; all the reſt was in the hands of the Turks. There remained but one town, and that the capital of this ancient empire, now beſieged by more than 200,000 men, and in this very town they diſputed about religion. One of the points of diſputation was, whether it was allowed them to pray in Latin; another, whether the light upon mount Tabor was created or eternal; another, if they might be allowed to uſe unleavened bread.

The laſt emperor Conſtantine had always near him the cardinal Iſidore, whoſe preſence alone angered and diſcouraged the Greeks. "We had rather," ſay they, "behold the turban here than the cardinal's hat." All the hiſtorians, and even the moſt modern, repeat ſome old ſtories that were then trumped up by the monks. Mahomet, according to them, was only a Barbarian, who deſtroyed Conſtantinople by fire and ſword, and who,

who, being in love with a captive, one Irene, cut off her head, to ſatisfy his Janiſſaries. This is all equally falſe; Mahomet was better brought up, more poliſhed, and underſtood more languages than any Chriſtian prince of thoſe times. There was only a part of the town taken by aſſault by the Janiſſaries. The conqueror generouſly granted a capitulation to the reſt, and faithfully obſerved it. And as to the murder of his miſtreſs, they muſt be very ignorant of the Turkiſh cuſtoms, to imagine that the ſoldiers concerned themſelves with what paſſed in the emperor's bed-chamber *.

A diet is aſſembled at Ratiſbon to endeavour oppoſing the Ottoman arms. Philip duke of Burgundy attends at this diet, and offers to march, if he is ſeconded, againſt the Turks. Frederic was not idle at Ratiſbon; for this very year Auſtria was erected into an archduchy, as the charter proves.

The cardinal Æneas Silvius, at that time legate in Germany, and afterwards pope, by the name of Pius II. ſolicits all the princes to defend Chriſtianity. He addreſſes himſelf to the Teutonic knights, and reminds them of their vows; but they are too much ingroſſed in fighting with their ſubjects of Pomerania and Pruſſia, who ſhake off their yoke, and give themſelves up to Poland. 1454.

There

* We wiſh M. de Voltaire had mentioned the authority on which he contradicts the whole ſtream of hiſtory, in favour of Mahomet II. That this conqueror was a true Turk in cruelty, may be gathered from the following circumſtances, related by Khalkondylas. After having given quarter to the grand duke, and promiſed the ducheſs that he would take care of her and her family, he, in the heat of intoxication, ſent his chief eunuch to demand the youngeſt of the grand duke's ſons, a lad of fourteen, extremely beautiful, whom he had deſtined as the object of his unnatural luſt. The duke refuſing to ſurrender his ſon to ſuch brutal proſtitution, Mahomet immediately ordered the grand duke, with his whole family, and all the great men and officers to whom he had given quarter, to be put to death. Beſides, all the world knows, that, as ſoon as he aſcended the throne, he ſent the captain of the Janiſſaries to ſtrangle his brother, an infant in the cradle; and that through the whole courſe of his life, he was notorious for brutality and breach of faith.

There is no perſon to oppoſe the progreſs of Mahomet II. and, by a cruel fatality, almoſt
1455. all the princes of the empire ruin themſelves by civil wars, one againſt another.

The houſe of Brunſwick was contending for the ſalt-work; the houſe of the Palatinate for the title of elector, which the governor endeavours to aſſume. The duchy of Luxemburg was invaded by the duke of Saxony, and defended by the duke of Burgundy, for 22,000 florins. The affair of the duke of Luxemburg becomes more ſerious than any other; young Ladiſlaus king of Bohemia and Hungary reclaims that duchy. It does not appear that the emperor takes any part in theſe quarrels. The poſſeſſion of the duchy of Luxemburg remains at length in the houſe of Burgundy.

This Ladiſlaus, who might have been a very great prince, dies hated and deſpiſed. He had fled
1456, to Vienna when the Turks beſieged Belgrade. He had left the glory of raiſing the ſiege to
1457. the celebrated John Huniades, and the friar John Capiſtran. The emperor takes care for him of Vienna and the Lower Auſtria; duke Albert his brother of the Higher; and Sigiſmund, their couſin, of Carinthia.

Frederic III. vainly endeavours to get Hungary to himſelf; it devolves upon Matthias, ſon of
1458. the great Huniades, its defender. He endeavours alſo to reign in Bohemia; and the ſtates elect George Podibrade, who had fought for them.

Frederic III. oppoſes the ſon of the valiant Huniades and the brave Podibrade only by ar-
1459. tifices, which ſhew his weakneſs; and this weakneſs emboldens the duke of Bavaria, the count Palatine, the elector of Mentz, and many other princes, nay even his own brother, to declare war againſt him, in favour of the king of Bohemia.

He is beaten by his brother Albert, and gets out of this difficulty only by giving up ſeveral places in Auſtria. He is treated by all Germany rather as a member than as principal of the empire.

The

The new pope Pius II. late Æneas Silvius, convokes an aſſembly of the Chriſtian princes at Mantua, to form a cruſade againſt Mahomet II. 1460. but the misfortune of theſe ancient armaments was, that, as they had formerly been made without reaſon, they contributed to impede thoſe, which were founded upon reaſon. Germany is always divided; for example: A duke of one part of Bavaria, of which Landſhut is the capital, employs his thoughts rather upon ſupporting his ancient rights upon Donawert, than on the general good of Europe: and on the contrary, during the madneſs of the ancient cruſades, they had ſold Donawert, to aſſiſt in going againſt Jeruſalem.

This duke of Bavaria, Lewis, leagues againſt the princes of his houſe, and, together with Ulric count of Wirtemberg, raiſes an army of 20,000 men.

The emperor ſupports the rights of Wirtemberg, which had been long an imperial town, againſt the pretenſions of the duke. He makes uſe of the famous Albert the Achilles to quell the duke of Bavaria and his league.

Other troubles are raiſed by the count of Holſtein. The king of Denmark, Chriſtian, poſſeſſes himſelf, by right of ſucceſſion, alſo of Schleſwick, by giving ſome money to other claimants, and ſubjects Holſtein to the emperor.

Much greater troubles enſue from the quarrel of Bavaria, which rages in Germany; and there are ſtill others, cauſed by the diſagreement be- 1461, tween the emperor and his brother, Albert duke of Upper Auſtria. The emperor is fain 1462, to ſubmit; and is obliged, by agreement, to cede the government of his own territory of 1463. that part of Auſtria, in which Vienna is contained, to Lower Auſtria. But the delay of the payment of 40,000 ducats, gave occaſion to renew the war between the two brothers. A battle enſues, and the emperor is beaten.

His friend Albert the Achilles of Brandenburg is, notwithſtanding his ſurname, beaten by the duke of Bavaria.

varia. Theſe inteſtine troubles eclipſe the glory of the empire, and make Germany truly unfortunate.

We ſee yet another diſgrace. There has been always a ſort of prejudiced opinion in many nations, that
1464. he, who poſſeſſed certain particular pledges, or ſigns, had an undoubted right to the kingdom. In the unhappy empire of Greece, a garment and a pair of ſcarlet ſlippers were ſometimes ſufficient to conſtitute the emperor. The iron crown of Monza gave a right upon Lombardy; and when rivals diſputed the imperial crown of Germany, he, who could ſeize upon thoſe antique arms, the lance and ſword of Charlemagne, was ſecure of the greateſt party. In Hungary he was the beſt off who poſſeſſed a certain golden crown. This ornament was in the treaſury of the emperor Frederic, who did not chooſe to part with it at the time that he gave up Ladiſlaus his pupil to the Hungarians.

Matthias Huniades makes a new demand of his golden crown upon the emperor, and declares war againſt him.

Frederic III. at laſt delivers up this palladium of Hungary. They make a treaty, which never had any thing like it. Matthias acknowledges Frederic for his father, and Frederic calls Matthias his ſon: nay, it is ſtipulated, that in caſe this pretended ſon dies without children, and without nephew, the pretended father ſhall be king of Hungary. In fine, the father gives the ſon 60,000 crowns.

This was a time in which the Chriſtian powers were guilty of many mean actions. There had ſtill
1465, ſubſiſted two parties in Bohemia, the Catholics and the Huſſites. King George Podi-
1466. brade, inſtead of imitating Scanderbeg and the Huniades, favours the Huſſites againſt the Catholics in Sileſia; and pope Paul II. authoriſes the revolt of the Sileſians by a bull. At length he excommunicates Podibrade, who is deprived of his kingdom. Theſe unworthy quarrels take from the Chriſtian cauſe very powerful aſſiſtance. Mahomet II. had no mufti to excommunicate him.

The

The Catholics of Bohemia offer the crown of Bohemia to the emperor; but in a diet at Nuremberg, moſt of the princes ſide with Podibrade, in preſence of the pope's legate; and duke Lewis of Bavaria-Landſhut ſays, that inſtead of giving Bohemia to Frederic, the imperial crown ought to be given to Podibrade. The diet order that a body of 20,000 men be kept up to defend Germany againſt the Turks. Had Germany been well governed, they had rather oppoſed them with 300,000. The Teutonic knights, who might have imitated Scanderbeg, only fight for Pruſſia; and at length, by a ſolemn treaty, they acknowledge themſelves feudatories of Poland. This treaty was made at Thorn the preceding year, and executed in 1467. 1467.

The pope gives Bohemia to Matthias Huniades, otherwiſe called Corvinus, king of Hungary; that is to ſay, the pope, whoſe great intereſt it was to oppoſe a bulwark to the Turks, eſpecially after the death of Scanderbeg the Great *, inſtead of ſo doing, encourages a civil war amongſt the Chriſtians, and abuſes the emperor and empire, by daring to oppoſe a king who was an elector; for the pope had no more right to depoſe a king of Bohemia, than that prince had to give away the ſee of Rome. 1468.

Matthias Huniades waſtes time, troops, and negociations, to poſſeſs himſelf of Bohemia. The emperor, with great mildneſs, aſſumes the office of mediator. Some of the princes of Germany involve themſelves in war, others are taken up in making treaties. The town of Conſtance forms an alliance with the Swiſs cantons.

An

* This was the famous George Caſtriot, ſovereign of Epirus, or Albania, who had been ſeized in his infancy, circumciſed, and educated in the Muſſulman religion, by order of Amurath II. who had cauſed his three elder brothers to be put to death. As he grew up, he diſſembled ſo effectually as to eſcape ſuſpicion, and managed matters in ſuch a manner, that he recovered his inheritance from the Turkiſh dominion. Then he renounced the religion of Mahomet, embraced Chriſtianity, and ſignalized his reign by a great number of glorious victories obtained over the Ottoman Porte.

An abbot of St. Gal joins Tockemburg to his rich abbey, and it coſts him no more than 40,000 florins. The inhabitants of Liege war unſucceſsfully with the duke of Burgundy. Each prince is in fear of his neighbour. There is no longer an equilibrium. The emperor does nothing.

Matthias Huniades diſputes ſtill about Bohemia; nor does the ſudden death of Podibrade extinguiſh
1469, the civil war. The Huſſite party chooſe La-
diſlaus prince of Poland. The Catholics de-
1470, clare for Matthias Huniades.

The houſe of Auſtria, which ought to be
1471, very powerful under Frederic III. for a long time loſes more than it gains. Sigiſmund of
1472. Auſtria, the laſt prince of the branch of Tirol, ſells to Charles the Raſh duke of Burgundy Briſgau, Suntgau, and the country of Ferrette, which belonged to him, for 80,000 golden crowns. Nothing is more common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, than for ſovereignties to be ſold at a very mean price. This was diſmembering the empire, augmenting the power of a prince of France, who already poſſeſſed all the Low Countries. It was not to be foreſeen, that at ſome time or other the poſſeſſions of the houſe of Burgundy ſhould revert to the houſe of Auſtria. The laws of the empire forbid theſe alienations; the conſent of the emperor ought to be obtained, and even the aſking of it was neglected.

At the ſame time Charles duke of Burgundy purchaſed the duchy of Gueldres and the country of Zutphen for near the ſame price. This duke of Burgundy was the moſt powerful of thoſe princes who were not kings; nay, few kings were ſo powerful. He was at the ſame time a vaſſal of the emperor and of the king of France, yet very formidable to both.

This duke of Burgundy, as enterpriſing as the emperor was inactive, is uneaſy to all his neigh-
1473, bours at the ſame time. No perſon could
1474. have a clearer title to the name of Raſh.

He

He invades the Palatinate: he attacks Lorrain in Switzerland It was then that the kings of France treated with the Swiſs for the firſt time. There were yet but eight united cantons, Switz, Uri, Underwald, Lucerne, Zurick, Glaris, Zug, and Berne.

Lewis XI. gave them 20,000 franks a year, and four florins and a half a man per month.

It has been always the good luck of the Turks, that the Chriſtians were divided among themſelves, as if to facilitate the conqueſts of the Otto- 1475.
man empire.

Mahomet, maſter of Epirus, of Peloponeſus, and of the Negro-Pont, ſcatters terror every where. Lewis XI. thinks of nothing but ſapping the foundation of the duke of Burgundy's grandeur, which had inſpired him with jealouſy. The provinces of Italy were employed in ſupporting themſelves againſt each other, Matthias Huniades was taken up with diſputing Bohemia againſt the king of Poland, and Frederic III. thought of nothing but amaſſing money, that he might one day be enabled more firmly to eſtabliſh his power.

Matthias Huniades, after having gained one battle, contents himſelf with Sileſia and Moravia: he leaves Bohemia and Luſatia to the king of Poland.

Charles the Raſh invades Lorrain: he finds himſelf by this uſurpation maſter of one of the fineſt countries in Europe, from Lyons even to the ſea of Holland.

His ambition is not ſatiated: he wants to reſtore the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, and thereby encloſe the Swiſs. Theſe people defend 1476.
themſelves againſt him, as they had before done againſt the Auſtrians. They defeat him entirely in the battle of Grandion, or of Morat. Their pikes and back-ſwords triumph over the heavy artillery and the ſhining military force of Burgundy. The Swiſs were the only people who at that time fought from no other motive but that of liberty. The princes, nay even the republics themſelves, ſuch as Venice, Florence, and Genoa, had hitherto ſcarcely fought for any thing but their advancement. Never people defended more nobly

bly a valuable liberty than the Swiſs: they were wanting in nothing but hiſtorians.

It was in this battle of Morat that Charles the Raſh loſt that beautiful diamond, which afterwards fell into the hands of the duke of Florence. A Swiſs, who found it among the ſpoils, ſold it for a crown.

Charles the Raſh at laſt periſhes near Nantz, he was betrayed by Campo-Caſſo, a Neapolitan and
1477. killed in his flight, after the battle, by Bauſmont, a gentleman of Lorrain.

By his death the duchy of Burgundy, the Artois, Charolois, Maçon, Bar-ſur-ſeine, Liſle, Doway, and the towns upon the Somme, revert to Lewis XI. king of France, as fiefs to that crown; but Flanders, which was titled Imperial, with all the Low Countries, and the Franche-Comté, devolve upon the young princeſs Mary, daughter to the laſt duke.

The beſt ſtep that could be taken, was Frederic III. marrying his ſon Maximilian to this rich heireſs. Maximilian eſpouſed Mary in the town of Eſſant, on the 17th of Auguſt; and Lewis XI. who ought to have given her in marriage to his ſon, makes war upon him.

The feudal right, which in reality is but the right of the ſtrongeſt, and in its conſequence the ſource of eternal diſcord, kindles this war againſt the princeſs. Ought Hainault to return to France? Is it an imperial province? Has France any rights upon Cambray? Has it any upon the Artois? Ought the Franche-Comté ſtill to be eſteemed a province of the empire? Does it belong to the ſucceſſion of Burgundy, or ought it to revert to the crown of France? Maximilian would have choſen rather the whole inheritance. Lewis XI. is willing to engroſs all that is convenient for him. It is this marriage then which is really the origin of ſo many unhappy wars between France and Auſtria; there being no acknowledged right, was the occaſion of ſo many people being ſacrificed.

Lewis XI. at length poſſeſſes himſelf of the two Burgundies, and towards the Low Countries of all that he could poſſibly graſp in the Artois, or in the Hainault.

A prince

A prince of Orange, of the houſe of Chalons in the Franche-Comté, endeavours to preſerve this province to Mary. This princeſs defends herſelf in the Low Countries, without her huſband being able to furniſh her any ſuccour from Germany. Maximilian as yet was but the indigent huſband of a ſovereign heroine. He preſſes the princes of Germany to take part in his cauſe. They all rather attend to their own intereſt. A landgrave of Heſſe carries off an elector of Cologne, and keeps him in priſon. The Teutonic knights take Riga in Livonia. Matthias Huniades is upon the point of making it up with Mahomet II. 1478.

At length Maximilian, aſſiſted only by the natives of Liege, puts himſelf at the head of his wife's army, which is called The Flemiſh Forces, although Flanders, properly ſpeaking, that is to ſay from Liſle to Ghent, was of the French party. The princeſs Mary had a ſtronger army than the king of France. 1479.

Maximilian defeats the French in a battle at Guinegaſte *, in the month of Auguſt. This battle was not one of thoſe, which at once determines the fate of a war.

A negotiation. Pope Sixtus IV. ſends a legate into Flanders: they made a treaty of two years. Where, all this time, is the emperor Frederic III? He can do nothing for his ſons, neither during the war, nor by negotiations: but he had given him Mary of Burgundy, and that was enough. 1480.

However, the Turks beſiege Rhodes. The famous grand-maſter Daubuiſſon, at the head of his knights, obliges them to raiſe the ſiege at the end of three months. 1481.

But the baſha Acomat enters the kingdom of Naples with fifty gallies. He takes Otranto by aſſault. All the

* This is the place at which the Engliſh afterwards defeated the French in an engagement called The Battle of the Spurs, becauſe the French made more uſe of their ſpurs than of their ſwords on that occaſion.

the kingdom is near being ruined. Rome herſelf trembles. The indolence of the Chriſtian princes eſcapes this torrent only by the ſudden death of Mahomet II. and the Turks abandon Otranto.

A whimſical agreement between John king of Denmark and Sweden, and his brother Frederic duke of Holſtein. The king and the duke ought to govern Holſtein as a fief of the empire, and Schleſwic as a fief of Denmark, in common. All theſe agreements are in general the ſources of war; but this above all others.

The cantons of Friburg in Switzerland, and of Soleuſe, join with the other eight. This by itſelf is but a trifling event. Two ſmall towns cut but a ſmall figure in the hiſtory of the world; but becoming members of a body always free, this liberty ſets them above the greateſt provinces that compoſe it.

Mary of Burgundy dies. Maximilian governs her poſſeſſions in the name of Philip the Minor,
1482. his ſon. Theſe towns are all priviledged. Theſe privileges cauſe almoſt perpetual diſſentions between the people who would ſupport, and the ſovereign who would ſubject them to his will. Maximilian reduces Zealand, Leiden, Utrecht, and Nimeguen.
1483. All the towns ſurrender one after another,
1484. but without any agreement, and are reduced
1485. gradually. The ſeeds of diſcontent ſtill remain. So far are they from uniting againſt the Turks, that Matthias Huniades, king of Hungary, in-
1486. ſtead of making a proper uſe of the death of Mahomet II. to the prejudice of the Turks, falls foul of the emperor. What is the reaſon of this war of the pretended ſon againſt the pretended father? It is difficult to gueſs. He wants to poſſeſs himſelf of Auſtria. What right has he to it? His troops beat the Imperialiſts: he takes Vienna. Here is his ſole right. The emperor appears inſenſible to the loſs of Lower Auſtria: he roves about the Low Countries; thence he goes to Frankfort, to ſecure among the electors the title of king of the Romans to his ſon. A man could not have leſs perſonal glory, nor prepare better for the grandeur of his houſe.

Maximilian

Maximilian is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 9th of April, by the archbiſhop of Cologne; pope Innocent VIII. giving his conſent thereto; for the popes always grant what they believe to be neceſſary.

The emperor, who had credit ſufficient in the diet of Frankfort to make his ſon king of the Romans, had not enough to obtain 50,000 florins a month, to enable him to recover Auſtria. This is one of thoſe ſtrange contradictions often to be met with in hiſtory. At this time was made the league of Suabia, to prevent the particular wars which rend and weaken Germany. It was a regulation of all the princes at the diet of Frankfort; a menacing law, which put all thoſe who attacked their neighbours under the ban of the empire. At length all the gentlemen of Suabia aſſociated themſelves to avenge the wrongs done them. This was a piece of true knight-errantry. They went in troops to demoliſh the ſtrong holds of the *Molandrins*, or robbers. They alſo obliged duke George of Bavaria to deſiſt from inſulting his neighbours. This was a militia for the public good. It did not laſt long.

The emperor makes a treaty with Matthias Huniades, which none but a vanquiſhed man would have made. He leaves to him the Lower Auſtria, 1487. until he ſhould pay him all the expences of the war, reſerving to himſelf the right of ſucceeding his adopted ſon in the kingdom of Hungary.

Maximilian, king of the Romans, finds himſelf at the ſame time attacked by the French, and by his own ſubjects in the Low Countries. The inhabitants of Bruges, on whom he would willingly have levied ſome taxes againſt the laws of the country, all of a ſudden clap him in priſon, where they hold him four months; and give him his liberty only upon condition that he ſhall withdraw the few German troops which he has with him, and make peace with France. 1488.

How happened it that that the miniſtry of the young Charles VIII. king of France, neglected ſo favourable a conjuncture? This miniſtry was then weak.

Maximilian ſecretly eſpouſes by proxy the ducheſs Anne of Bretagne. Had he eſpouſed her effectually, and produced children by her, he would have doubly preſſed France, which was ſurrounded at that time by Franche-Comté, Alſatia, Bretagne, and the Low-Countries.

1489.

Matthias Corvinus Huniades being dead, let us ſee if the emperor Frederic, his adopted father, ſucceeded him by virtue of treaties. Frederic parts with his right to the emperor Maximilian.

1490.

But Beatrix, widow of the former king, makes the ſtates ſwear to acknowledge him only whom ſhe ſhould eſpouſe; and ſoon weds Ladiſlaus Jagellon king of Bohemia, whom the Hungarians crown. Maximilian nevertheleſs recovers Lower Auſtria, and carries the war into Hungary.

The ſame treaty that Frederic III. made with Matthias is renewed between Ladiſlaus Jagellon and Maximilian. Maximilian is acknowledged preſumptive heir to Ladiſlaus Jagellon in Hungary and Bohemia.

1491.

Fate, even at this diſtance, was preparing Hungary for ſubjection to the houſe of Auſtria.

The emperor does a bold action in theſe times of proſperity. He puts his kinſman Albert of Bavaria, duke of Munich, under the ban of the empire. It is aſtoniſhing to think what a number of princes of this houſe have been thus treated. What was the occaſion of it? Tirol was given ſolemnly to this duke of Bavaria by Sigiſmund of Auſtria, and this donation, or ſecret ſale, was looked upon as the gift of his wife Cunegonda, only daughter of the emperor Frederic III.

The emperor pretended that the empire could not be alienated, and the whole empire was divided upon this queſtion; an indubitable proof that the laws were not at all clear, and perhaps there was nothing ſo much wanting in ſociety.

The ban of the empire was in ſuch caſes no more than a declaration of war; but this was very ſoon concluded. Tirol remained in the poſſeſſion of Auſtria:

ſome

ſome compenſations are given to Bavaria, and the duke of Bavaria delivers up Ratiſbon, which had been for ſome time in his hands.

Ratiſbon was an imperial town: the duke of Bavaria had looked upon it as part of his eſtate, eſtabliſhing his title upon ancient right: it had been newly declared an imperial town: there ſcarcely remained to the duke of Bavaria above one half of the rights of cuſtom.

Maximilian, king of the Romans, who imagined he might eſtabliſh the grandeur of his houſe upon a peaceable foundation, by marrying his daughter Margaret of Auſtria to Charles VIII. king of France, with whom ſhe was brought up; and ſoon after, by marrying Anne of Bretagne by proxy, learns that his wife is really married to Charles VIII. on the 6th of December, 1491; and that they are about to ſend back his daughter Margaret to him. Women are no longer the ſubjects of war among princes, but the provinces are. As the inheritance of Matilda had ſo long troubled the peace of Italy, ſo does that of Mary of Burgundy kindle perpetual diſcord. 1492.

Maximilian ſurpriſes Arras; after which he concludes an advantageous peace, by which the king of France cedes to him Franche-Comté in pure ſovereignty, the Artois, and the Charolois and Nogent, on condition of homage.

It is not to Maximilian properly that theſe countries are ceded, but to his ſon Philip, as the repreſentative of his mother Mary of Burgundy.

It muſt be acknowledged that no king of the Romans ever began his career ſo gloriouſly as Maximilian. The victory of Guinégaſte over the French, the taking of Arras, and the obtaining Artois by the ſtroke of a pen, covered him with glory.

Frederic III. dies the 19th of Auguſt, aged ſeventy-eight. He had reigned fifty-three years. No emperor's reign had been longer, but it had not been the moſt glorious *. 1493.

* He was undoubtedly a weak prince, a devotee, and a peant. He choſe for his device the five vowels, a, e, i, o, u; which

MAXIMILIAN.

Fortieth Emperor.

ABOUT the time of Maximilian's coming to the empire Europe began to wear a very different aſpect. The Venetians at length oppoſed themſelves as a bulwark againſt the Turks, who already poſſeſſed a very large territory. The Venetians ſtill kept Cyprus, Candy, a part of Greece and of Dalmatia: they extended their ſovereignty in Italy; but the town of Venice alone was worth more than all their other dominions; the gold of the world flowing in upon them through the channels of commerce.

The popes were become ſovereigns of Rome, but ſovereigns extremely confined in this capital; and moſt of the territories which had been formerly given them, and which had been always diſputed, were loſt by them.

The houſe of Conzagna poſſeſſed Mantua, a town belonging to the counteſs Matilda, and a fief of the empire which the holy ſee never poſſeſſed. Parma and Placentia, which now belonged to them, were in the hands of the Sforzas dukes of Milan. Ferrara and Modena were ruled by the houſe of Eſte; Bologna belonged to the Bentivoglio; Peruſa to the Baloni; Ravenna to the Polentini; Farenza to the Manfredi; Immola and Forli to the Rimario; almoſt all the patrimony of St. Peter, and that country which is called Romania, was poſſeſſed by particular ſovereigns, the moſt of whom eaſily obtained charters as vicars of the empire.

The Sforzas had not, during fifteen years, condeſcended to take this title. Florence had a much finer, that of Free, under the direction, though not in the power, of the Medicis.

The ſtates of Savoy, as yet very much oppreſſed, ſtanding in need of both money and commerce, were then much leſs conſiderable than the Swiſs.

If

which he thus explained: *Auſtriæ eſt imperare orbi univerſo*; and this ſome of his ſucceſſors have interpreted into a prophecy, which it is to be hoped will never be fulfilled.

If from the Alps we take a view of France, we ſhall find it begin again to flouriſh. Its members, that had been ſo long divided, re-unite and form a powerful body. The marriage of Anne of Bretagne with Charles VIII. completed the ſtrengthening of this kingdom, which had received ſome conſiderable improvements under Lewis XI. by the acquiſition of Burgundy and Provence. Since the decline of the race of Charlemagne, ſhe had but little influence in the affairs of Europe.

Spain, as yet more unhappy than ſhe had been for near 700 years, at this time began to revive. Iſabella and Ferdinand, after having driven the Moors out of the kingdom of Grenada, extended their views to Naples and Sicily.

Portugal was employed in an enterprize of glory unheard of till that time; ſhe began to open a new channel of commerce to mankind, by teaching a paſſage to the Indies by ſea. Here are the ſources of all the great events that have ſince actuated all Europe.

The Turks under Bajazet ceaſe not as yet to be terrible, though leſs ſo than under Mahomet.
They make incurſions into Hungary and ſome 1494.
part of the Auſtrian dominions; but theſe are only a few ſcattered billows, that after the mighty ſtorm contend upon the ſurface. Maximilian goes to ſecure Croatia and Carniola.

He marries at Inſpruc the niece of Lewis Sforza, otherwiſe called Lewis the Moor, the uſurper of Milan, who had poiſoned his pupil the natural heir. This was not the only houſe where crimes had the ſanction of nobility. Money only conſtituted this match. Maximilian weds Blanche of Sforza at once, and gives the inveſtiture of the Milaneſe to Lewis the Moor, which Germany reſents.

At the ſame time Lewis the Moor calls alſo Charles VIII. into Italy, and gives him money. A duke of Milan keeps at the ſame time in pay an emperor and a king of France.

He deceives them both: he believes that he may divide the conqueſt of Naples with Charles VIII. and while Charles VIII. is in Italy, intends that the emperor

ſhall invade France. The beginning of the fifteenth century is famous for the deepeſt intrigues and the blackeſt treacheries. It was the criſi of Europe, but above all of Italy, where many petty princes endeavoured to gain by their crimes what they wanted in power.

A new imperial chamber eſtabliſhed at Frankfort, of which the count de Hohenzollern, the
1495. eldeſt of the houſe of Brandenburg, is firſt preſident. It was the ſame chamber which was afterwards transferred to Worms, to Nuremberg, Augſburg, Ratiſbon, and at length to Vetzlar, where ſome proceſſes were determined, which had ſubſiſted ſince its foundation.

Wirtemberg erected into a duchy.

A great diſpute, to determine whether the duchy of Lorrain be a fief of the empire. Duke Reignier does homage, and takes an oath of fidelity as duke of Lorrain and Bar; at the ſame time proteſting, that he did it only in conſideration of holding certain fiefs. Which ought to weigh moſt, his homage or his proteſtation?

While Charles VIII. called into Italy by Lewis the Moor, and by pope Alexander IV. rapidly conquers all before him, and makes himſelf maſter of all the kingdom of Naples by means of a baſtard of the houſe of Arragon, this ſame Lewis the Moor, and the ſame pope Alexander IV. league with Maximilian and the Venetians to drive him out. Charles chooſes to wait for them, appearing to be very formidable, though in reality not ſo.

Maximilian goes into Italy, whence Charles VIII. is driven out. There he found what has been
1496. always ſeen there, a ſtrong hatred againſt the French and Germans, defiance and diviſions between the ſeveral powers: but what is moſt to be remarked is, that he arrived there too weakly attended. He had but a thouſand horſe with him, and four or five thouſand infantry: he looked rather like the penſioner of Lewis: he wrote to the duke of Savoy, the marquis of Saluce, and to the duke of Modena, by their preſence to aſſiſt at his coronation at Pavia, which all theſe lords refuſe. Every thing concurs to ſhew him that he came

came too indifferently attended, and that Italy believed itſelf independent.

Is it the emperor's fault if he has ſo little credit in Italy? It appears not. The princes and diets of Germany ſcarcely furniſh him any ſubſidies. He draws but little aſſiſtance from their territories. The Low countries belong not to Maximilian, but to his ſon. The voyage to Italy was ruinous.

The feudal right is always the occaſion of troubles. A diet at Worms having ordered a ſlight tax for the ſervice of the Empire, the Frieſlanders 1497. refuſe to pay it. They always pretend that they are not a fief of the empire. Maximilian ſends the duke of Saxony, in quality of governor, to reduce the Frieſlanders. A people poor and very fond of their liberties, deſcended of the ancient Saxons at Xeaſt, part of whom had fought Charlemagne. They defend themſelves; but not ſo ſucceſsfully as the Swiſs.

Charles VIII. dies; and, in ſpite of his aſſociations, in ſpite of treaties, Maximilian makes an irruption on the ſide of Burgundy, a fruitleſs 1498. irruption, after which they again enter into new treaties Maximilian perſiſts to reclaim all the ſucceſſion of Mary of Burgundy, for his ſon Philip le Beau.

Lewis XII. gives up many places to this young prince, who pays homage to the chancellor of France at Arras, for the Charolois, Artois, and Flanders; and they mutually agree to ſubmit their pretenſions on the duchy of Burgundy, to the deciſion of the parliament of Paris.

Maximilian treats with the Swiſs, who are looked upon as invincible, in their own territories.

The ten united cantons form a league with the Griſons. Maximilian hopes to regain them by mildneſs. He writes them a ſoothing letter. The Swiſs in their aſſembly at Zurich cry out, that no confidence is to be placed in Maximilian.

The Auſtrians attack the Griſons. The Swiſs defeat the Auſtrians, and ſupport not only their own liberty, but that of their allies. 1499. The Auſtrians are again beaten in three battles.

The emperor at length makes peace with the ten cantons as with a free people.

1500. The imperial town of Basil, Schafthausen, and Apenzel, join the Swiss union, which is composed of the 13 cantons.

The Aulic council, projected about this time by Maximilian. This is an image of the ancient tribunal which formerly accompanied the emperor. This chamber is approved by the states of the Empire. in the diet of Augsburg. It is permitted to carry causes thither, as well as to the imperial chamber; but the aulic council, having more power, causes its decrees to be better executed, and becomes one of the greatest supports of the imperial power. The form of this chamber was not quite settled, till the year 1512.

The Empire is divided into six circles, in which the electorial territories are comprized as well as the rest of the Empire; tho' this regulation had not yet sufficient force, till twelve years after the diet of Cologne.

Charles V. born in the town of Ghent, the 24th of February, being St. Matthias's day. We have remarked this, because the day was always favourable to him. They forthwith give him the title of duke of Luxemburg.

Fortune begins to declare the very same year in favour of this child. Don Michael the infant of Spain dies, and the infanta Johanna, mother to the young prince, becomes presumptive heir to that monarchy.

About this time, the new world was discovered, the fruits of which discovery Charles the V. was one day to reap.

1501. Maximilian had been the vassal of France for part of the succession of Burgundy. Lewis XII. demands, that he should be the same for the Milanese. He comes from conquering that province under Lewis the Moor, uncle and feudatory of the emperor, without Maximilian's appearing in the least disturbed at the fate of a country so dear to all his predecessors.

Lewis

Lewis XII. had alſo conquered and divided the kingdoms of Naples, with Ferdinand king of Arragon, without Maximilian's appearing any more diſturbed.

Maximilian promiſes the inveſtiture of Milan, upon condition that madam Claudia, daughter of Lewis XII. and of Anne Bretagne ſhould marry the young duke Charles of Luxenburg. He intends declaring the Milaneſe a feminine fief. There are certainly, by nature, neither feminine fiefs nor maſculine. Whether a daughter ſhall or ſhall not inherit, all that depends on cuſtom imperceptibly eſtabliſhed.

Lewis XII. ought certainly to regard the Milaneſe as a feminine fief in effect, becauſe he had no other pretenſions to it, than in the right of a grandmother, Valentia Viſconti. It was Maximilian's intention that the Milaneſe and Bretagne ſhould one day paſs to his grandſon, in which caſe Lewis XII. had neither conquered nor married but for the advantage of the houſe of Auſtria.

The arch-duke Philip, and his wife Johanna, daughter to Ferdinand and Iſabella, cauſed themſelves to be acknowledged heirs to the kingdom of Spain. Philip there takes the title of prince of Aſturias. Maximilian ſees nothing but real grandeur for his poſterity, and has ſcarce any thing for himſelf but titles; for he has but the ſhadow of power in Italy, and of precedency in Germany. He could carry his ſmalleſt deſigns into execution only by policy.

He endeavours ineffectually to make Auſtria an electorate. 1503.

The electors continue to meet for two whole years, to ſupport their privileges.

The extinction of the great fiefs in Germany, awakens the attention of the German princes.

The popes begin to form a temporal power, and Maximilian permits it.

Urbino, Camarino, and ſome other territories are forced from their new maſters by one of pope Alexander the Sixth's baſtards. That is the famous Cæſar Borgia, a deacon, an archbiſhop, and a ſecular prince. He employs more art in getting poſſeſſion of ſeven or eight

ſmall towns, than the Alexanders, the Gengis, and the Tamerlanes had ſhewn, in the conqueſt of Aſia. His father the pope and himſelf thrive by the bowl and dagger; and the good king Lewis XII. had been a long time in alliance with theſe two blood-ſtained men, becauſe he ſtood in need of them. As for the emperor, he ſeemed intirely to have forgotten Italy.

The town of Lubec declares war againſt Denmark. Lubec ſeemed to be endeavouring at being in the North, what Venice was in the Adriatic; and the troubles that reigned in Sweden and Denmark, prevented its being cruſhed.

The quarrels of Denmark and Sweden have nothing to ſay to the hiſtory of the Empire; but it
1504. ought not to be forgotten that the Swedes having choſen a governor, of whom king John of Denmark not approving, he condemned the ſenators of Sweden as rebels and traitors, and remitted their ſentence to the emperor for him to confirm it.

This king John had been elected king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; notwithſtanding which, there was a neceſſity for an emperor whoſe power was very weak, to approve and confirm his ſentence. This very king John, tho' with three crowns, had very little power himſelf, eſpecially in Sweden, from whence he had been driven out. But this kind of difference, of which from time to time we ſee examples, marks ſufficiently the reſpect always paid to the Empire. It was always addreſſed when there ſeemed to be a neceſſity for it, as the holy ſee was often ſolicited to ſtrengthen uncertain rights. Maximilian nevertheleſs failed not to procure a proper reſpect to be paid to the reſcripts of that authority, which they attributed to him. He commanded the ſtates of Sweden to obey, threatening that he would otherwiſe proceed againſt them according to the rights of the empire.

This year a civil war ſprung up, between a branch of the Palatine, and the poſſeſſors of the houſe of Bavaria. The branch of the Palatine is at laſt condemned in the diet of Augſburg. Yet this does not make the war the leſs. Unhappy conſtitution of a ſtate, where the laws

are

are without force! The branch of the Palatine loſes in this war more than one territory.

A treaty of a very ſingular nature is concluded at Blois, between the ambaſſadors of Maximilian and his ſon Philip on the one part, and the cardinal d'Amboiſe in the name of Lewis XII. on the other.

This treaty confirms the alliance with the houſe of Auſtria, by which Lewis XII. ſhould be in reality inveſted with the duchy of Milan. But by which, if Lewis XII. ſhould break the marriage of madam Claudia, with the archduke Charles of Luxemburg, the latter prince ſhould have the duchy of Burgundy, the Milaneſe, and the county of Aſti, by way of reparation: on the other hand, ſhould the treaty be broken on the ſide of Maximilian, or of Philip prince of Spain, father to the young archduke, the houſe of Auſtria ſhould not only quit his pretenſions upon the duchy of Burgundy, but alſo on the Artois, the Charolois, and other territories. It is ſcarce credible that ſuch a treaty was ſerious. If Lewis XII. ſhould marry the princeſs, he muſt loſe Bretagne; if he broke the marriage, he was to loſe Burgundy. Nothing elſe can be ſaid in excuſe of ſuch promiſes, than that there was no intention of keeping them. This was exchanging imprudence for ignominy.

Iſabella queen of Caſtile dies, and by her will diſinherits her kinſman Philip, father of Charles of Luxemburg; and Charles is not to reign till the age of twenty. This was in order to preſerve the kingdom of Caſtile to her huſband Ferdinand of Arragon. 1505.

The mother of Charles of Luxemburg, Johannah, daughter of Iſabella, heireſs of Caſtile, was, as it is well known, called Johannah the Fooliſh. She well deſerved the title. An ambaſſador of Arragon comes to Bruſſels, and engages her to ſign her mother's will.

An agreement between Ferdinand of Arragon and Philip. The latter conſents to reign in common with his wife and Ferdinand. In all public acts the name of Ferdinand was put firſt; after it that of Johanna and that of Philip. A 1506.

ſure

ſure way to confound three perſons, as will appear in the ſequel.

The ſtates of France, in concert with Lewis XII. and the cardinal d'Amboiſe, oppoſe the treaty, which give madam Claudia and Bretagne to the houſe of Auſtria. They marry her to the preſumptive heir of the crown, count d'Angouleſme, afterwards Francis I. Charles VIII. had got the wife of Maximilian, Francis I. the wife of Charles V.

While ſo many treaties were making on this ſide the Alps; while Philip and Johannah were gone into Spain, and Maximilian kept fair on all ſides, at the ſame time not letting the inheritance of Hungary out of his eye, the popes purſued their new deſign of eſtabliſhing a great ſovereignty by force of arms. Excommunications were weapons too much uſed: Pope Alexander VI. had begun, Julius II. finiſhed it. He takes Bologna from the Bentivoglio's, and Lewis XII. or rather the Cardinal d'Amboiſe, aſſiſt him therein.

He had already reunited to the ſee of Rome, the territory which Cæſar Borgia had taken for himſelf. In effect, Alexander VI fought for his ſon, but Julius II. conquered for the ſee of Rome.

The titular king of Spain, Philip, dies at Burgos. On his death-bed he appoints Lewis XII. guardian of his ſon Charles. This will was formed on the hatred which he had for his ſtep-father Ferdinand. And, in ſpite of their diſagreement, on account of madam Claudia's marriage, he looked upon Lewis XII. to be a much honeſter man than Ferdinand the Catholic. A mighty religioniſt, but a moſt perfidious monarch! who had deceived the whole world, but above all his parents, and more particularly his kinſman.

A ſtrange affair! the Low-countries refuſe to acknowledge the emperor Maximilian for re-
1507. gent, during the minority of Charles. They ſay that Charles was a Frenchman, becauſe he was born at Ghent, the capital of Flanders, during the time that his father paid homage to the king of France. Under this pretext, the ſeventeen provinces governed themſelves for eighteen months, without Maximilian's

Maximilian's being able to remedy the inſult. There was no conquered country more free than the Low-countries at this day; England had not obtained near ſo much liberty.

A war againſt the houſe of Guelders, who had been long ſince driven from their dominions. part of which having recovered, they inceſſantly 1508. ſtruggled for the reſt, obliges the ſtates at laſt to cede the regency to Maximilian, and Margaret of Auſtria, his favourite daughter is declared governeſs.

Maximilian intends to try if he can recover ſome credit in Italy, by getting himſelf crowned at Rome. The enterpriſe was difficult. The Venetians, now become more powerful than ever, haughtily declare they would oppoſe his progreſs in Italy, if too ſtrongly attended. The governor of Milan for Lewis XII. joins the Venetians. Pope Julius IId. tells him that he gives him the title of emperor, but that he does not adviſe him to go to Rome.

He advances towards Verona, in ſpite of the Venetians, who had not ſufficiently guarded the paſſes. Here they keep their word with him, and force him to retire to Inſpruc.

The famous Venetian general Alviano, intirely defeats the emperor's little army near the Trentin. The Venetians poſſeſs themſelves of almoſt this whole province, and their fleet takes Trieſte, capital of Iſtria and other towns. Alviano enters Venice in triumph.

Maximilian then, as a laſt reſource, ſends a circular letter to all the ſtates of the empire, injoining them to give him the title of Roman Emperor elected; a title which his ſucceſſors have ever ſince taken at their acceſſion. Cuſtom heretofore had given the name of emperor to thoſe only who were crowned at Rome.

The empire at that time had no footing in Italy, where there were no more than two great powers, and many ſmall ones. Lewis XII on the one 1509. ſide, maſter of the Milaneſe and of Genoa, who, having a free communication by Provence, threatened the kingdom of Naples, heretofore imprudently divided with Ferdinand of Arragon, who took every thing

thing to himſelf with that perfidy which is uſually called policy. The other new power was Venice, the rampart of chriſtianity againſt the infidels; a rampart broken indeed in a hundred places, yet ſtill making ſome reſiſtance by the towns that remained to them in Greece, by the iſles of Candy, Cyprus, and Dalmatia. Beſides, ſhe was not always at war with the Ottoman empire, and gained more by her commerce with the Turks than ſhe loſt by her poſſeſſions.

Her dominions upon Terra Firma began to be ſomething. She had ſeized upon Faenza, Rimini, Ceſeno, ſome territories belonging to Ferrara, and the duchy of Urbino, after the death of Alexander VI. They poſſeſſed Ravenna, and juſtified moſt of theſe acquiſitions, becauſe, that having aſſiſted the houſes diſpoſſeſſed by Alexander VI. in the recovery of their dominions, theſe territories were awarded to them as their recompence. The Venetians had for a long time poſſeſſed Padua, Verona, Vicenza, the marquiſate of Treviſa, and Frionia. They had near the Milaneſe Breſſia, and Bergamas. Francis Sforza had given them Crema, Lewis XII. had ceded to them Cremona, and Guiara d'Adda.

All this did not compoſe in Italy a ſtate ſo very formidable, that Europe ſhould fear the Venetians as conquerors. The real power of Venice was in St. Mark's treaſury. It was there they had wherewith to retain an emperor and a king of France.

In the month of April 1509, Lewis XII. marches againſt his old allies the Venetians, at the head of 15,000 horſe, 12,000 French infantry, and 8000 Swiſs The emperor advances againſt them on the ſide of Iſtria and Frioul. Julius II. the firſt warlike pope, enters the towns of Romania at the head of 10,000 men.

Ferdinand of Arragon, as king of Naples, declares alſo againſt the Venetians, becauſe that they held ſome ports in the kingdom of Naples, on account of ſome money which they had formerly lent upon them.

The king of Hungary alſo declares againſt them in hopes of having Dalmatia. The duke of Savoy having ſome pretenſions upon the kingdom of Cyprus, gives alſo a helping hand to the enterpriſe. The duke of Ferrara,

Ferrara, a vaſſal of the holy ſee, alſo joins in it. In fine, ſo far from attacking the great Turk, the whole continent of Europe joins at once to oppreſs the Venetians.

Pope Julius the IId was the firſt promoter of this ſingular league of the ſtrong againſt the weak, ſo well known by the name of the League of Cambray. And he who would have ſhut ſtrangers out of Italy for ever, floods the whole country with them.

Lewis XII. has the misfortune to beat the Venetians completely, in the battle of Guiaro d'Adda. This was not very difficult. The mercenary ſoldiers of Venice could hold out againſt the other ſovereigns of Italy, but not againſt the French gens d'armes. The misfortune of Lewis XII. in beating the Venetians was, that he laboured for the emperor. Maſter as he was of Genoa and Italy, no more remained to prevent the Germans ever entering Italy, than for him to have joined the Venetians.

The fear of the power of Venice was badly founded. Venice was only rich, and they muſt ſhut their eyes not to ſee, that the new channels of commerce by the Cape of Good Hope and the American ſeas, would finiſh the ſources of the Venetian power. Lewis XII. had received from Maximilian 100,000 golden crowns for joining this league, without which the emperor could not poſſibly have marched towards the Alps.

The 14th of June 1509, the emperor gives the inveſtiture of the Milaneſe to cardinal d'Amboiſe, who receives it for Lewis XII. in the town of Trent. The emperor not only gives this duchy to the king, but in default of his iſſue to count d'Angouleſme, Francis I. This was the price of the ruin of Venice.

Maximilian received for this grant 60,000 golden crowns. Thus, for three ages paſt, had every thing been ſold. Lewis XII. might have employed this money to ſettle himſelf in Italy; and he returns to France, after having reduced Venice almoſt to her iſlands.

The emperor then advances on the ſide of Friouli, and reaps all the fruits of the French victory. But Venice, during the abſence of Lewis XII. acquires new courage,

and

and her money procures her new armies. She forces the emperor to raiſe the ſiege of Padua, and, by giving up every thing that he aſks, concludes a treaty with the promoter of the league, Julius II.

The principal deſign of Julius II. was to drive the Barbarians out of Italy, and rid it at once of the French and the Germans. The popes had formerly called in theſe nations to ſupport him, one againſt the other, and vice verſa. Julius, by repairing the faults of his predeceſſors, by delivering Italy, and ſtrengthening himſelf, ſought an immortal name. Maximilian refuſes to aid Julius in driving out the French.

Julius II. at length makes his own uſe of the Swiſs, whom he ſpirits up againſt Lewis XII. as alſo
1510. old Ferdinand, king of Arragon and of Naples. He endeavours to procure a peace between the emperor and Venice; and, at the ſame time, deviſes the ſeizing Ferrara, Bologna, Ravenna, Parma, and Placentia.

A great diet is held at Augſburg, in the midſt of ſo many different intereſts. Here they debate, whether Maximilian ſhall give peace to Venice.

Here they confirm the liberty of the town of Hamburg, which had been long diſputed by Denmark.

Maximilian and Lewis XII. are again united, that is to ſay, Lewis XII. aſſiſts the emperor in purſuing the Venetians, and the emperor does not in the leaſt contribute to preſerve to Lewis Milan and Genoa, whence the pope endeavours to drive him out.

Julius II. at length gives the inveſtiture of Naples to Ferdinand king of Arragon, though he promiſed it to Lewis XII. Ferdinand, already maſter of Naples, ſtood in no need of this ceremony; but then it coſt him 7,000 crowns rent, whereas formerly 48,000 uſed to be paid to the holy ſee.

Julius II. declares war againſt the king of France, who begins to have very little power in Italy.
1511. This warlike pope intends the conqueſt of Ferrara, belonging to Alphonſo d'Eſte, an ally of France. He takes Mirandola and Concordia in his march, and gives them to the houſe of Mirandola, but

but as fiefs of the holy ſee. Theſe are but trivial wars; but certainly Julius II. had more policy than his predeceſſors; ſince he found the art of making them in ſome meaſure profitable, while all the victories of the French were of very little ſervice to them, ſince they could not enable them to curb the enterpriſes of the pope.

Julius II. gives up Modena, of which he had been ſome time poſſeſſed, to the emperor; and he only parts with it for fear that the troops which the king of France had in the Milaneſe ſhould have beſieged it.

The pope at length prevails upon Maximilian ſecretly to ſign a treaty with king Ferdinand and him againſt France. Theſe are fruits that 1512. Lewis XII. gathers from his league of Cambray, and ſo much money given to the emperor.

Julius II. who intended chaſing the Barbarians out of Italy, inſtead of it introduces, all at once, the Swiſs, the Arragonians, and the Germans. Gaſton de Foix, nephew to Lewis XII. governor of Milan, a young prince, who acquires great glory and reputation, by ſupporting himſelf, with a very ſmall army, defeats the allies at the battle of Ravenna, but is killed in the victory, and, by that means, the fruits of it are loſt. Such, almoſt, always has been the fate of the French in Italy. They loſe the Milaneſe after that famous battle of Ravenna, which, at another time, had given them the empire of Italy. Pavia is almoſt the only place that remains to them.

The Swiſs, who, excited by the pope, had made an hand of this reſolution, receive from his holineſs, inſtead of money, the titles of Defenders of the holy ſee.

Maximilian, in the mean time, continues the war againſt the Venetians; but theſe rich republicans make a good defence, and daily repair their former loſſes.

The emperor and the pope inceſſantly treat. And it is in this very year, that Maximilian offers himſelf to the pope, to accept him as coadjutor in the popedom. He ſees no other way of re-eſtabliſhing the imperial dignity in Italy, and, from this view, he ſometimes aſſumes the title of *Pontifex maximus*, in imitation of the Roman emperors. His being a layman was no excluſion

ſion from the papacy, it being juſtified by the example of Amadeus of Savoy. The pope having diſappointed him in his views of being coadjutor to him, Maximilian begins to deviſe the ſucceeding him; for which purpoſe he gains ſome cardinals, and endeavours to borrow money to purchaſe the remaining votes at the death of Julius, which he imagines very near. His famous letter to the archdutcheſs Margaret, his daughter, is a teſtimony of this, the original being ſtill to be ſeen.

The inveſtiture of the duchy of Milan, which three years before had coſt Lewis XII. 60,000 golden crowns, is given to Maximilian Sforza, at a much eaſier rate. To the ſon of that Lewis the Moor, whom Lewis IX. had kept ſo harſhly, yet ſo juſtly, in priſon. The ſame Swiſs who had betrayed Lewis the Moor to Lewis XII. brings his ſon back in triumph to Milan.

Pope Julius II dies, after having laid the certain foundation of the pope's temporal grandeur; for as for his ſpiritual, it daily diminiſhes. The temporal grandeur might have formed the equilibrium of Italy; yet it has not. The reaſon of this is the weakneſs of a ſacerdotal government and the nepotiſm.

A war breaks out between Denmark and the Hanſtowns, Lubec, Dantzic, Viſmar, and Riga.

1513. There were many examples of this kind, which we ſhall not ſee in theſe days. The towns are beaten, and the princes get the better in almoſt all parts of Europe; ſo very hard is it to preſerve true liberty!

Leo X. leſs warlike than Julius, but not leſs enterpriſing, more cunning but leſs capable, forms a league againſt Lewis XII. with the emperor, with Henry VIII. king of England, and old Ferdinand of Arragon. This league was concluded at Mechlin on the fifth of April, by the care of that Margaret of Auſtria, governeſs of the Low-countries, who had made the league of Cambray.

The emperor was to poſſeſs himſelf of Burgundy, the pope of Provence, the king of England of Normandy, the king of Arragon of Guienne. This laſt had lately uſurped Navarre from John d'Albert, by means

means of a papal bull, ſeconded by an army. Thus do the popes, always weak, give kingdoms to the ſtrongeſt. Thus rapaciouſneſs always acts by the hands of religion. Lewis XII. at length unites with thoſe very Venetians he had before ſo imprudently loſt. The papal league is broken almoſt as ſoon as formed. Maximilian only gets ſome money from Henry VIII. It was all that he wanted. What weakneſs! what knavery! what cruelty! what inconſtancy! what rapacity is manifeſted in all theſe great affairs!

Lewis XII. vainly attempts to recover the Milaneſe. La Trimouille marches thither with a few troops. He is defeated at Navarre by the Swiſs, and begins to be doubtful whether the Swiſs do not intend to take Milan themſelves. Milan and Genoa, as well as Naples, are loſt to France.

The Venetians, who formerly had in Lewis XII. a terrible and imprudent enemy, have now only an uſeleſs ally in him. The Spaniards of Naples declare againſt them, and beat their famous general Alvianos, as Lewis XII. had before beaten them. Henry VIII. of England is the only one of all the princes who ſigned the league of Mechlin againſt France, that keeps his word. He embarks with the preparations and hope of an Edward III. or an Henry V.

Maximilian, who had promiſed him an army, follows the king of England as a volunteer, and Henry VIII. gives 100 crowns a day, as pay, to that ſucceſſor of the Cæſars, who would have ſet himſelf up for pope. He is preſent at that victory which Henry gains in the new battle of Guinegaſte, called the Battle of the ſpurs, being the very ſame place in which he himſelf had won a battle in his youth.

Maximilian is afterwards paid a very conſiderable ſum. He receives 200,000 crowns to make war in reality. France, thus attacked, by a young and powerful king, was certainly, after the loſs of her men and money in Italy, in imminent danger.

Maximilian, nevertheleſs, with part of Henry's money, procures the Swiſs to attack Burgundy. Ulric duke of Wirtemberg, here leads the German cavalry.

Dijon

Dijon is beſieged. Lewis XII. loſes Burgundy, after the Milaneſe, all by the hands of the Swiſs. Nor can la Trimouille oblige them to retire, without promiſing them, in the name of his maſter, 400,000 crowns. What are the vicſſitudes of this world! what may we not hope for, what have we not to fear! ſince we ſee the Swiſs, their hands ſtill reeking with blood, ſhed in defence of their liberty againſt the houſe of Auſtria, now arming in defence of that houſe, and even the Hollanders preparing to do the ſame.

Maximilian, ſeconded by the Spaniards, continues the war againſt the Venetians. This was all
1514. that remained of the old league of Cambray, the principle and object of which were now changed; and the French, who had been formerly the heroes, were at length become the victims of it.

Lewis XII. driven out of Italy, menaced by Ferdinand of Arragon, beaten and abuſed by his ſubjects, vanquiſhed by Henry VIII. of England, who revives the claims of his anceſtors upon France, has no other reſource than that of marrying Mary, ſiſter of Henry VIII. for his ſecond wife.

This very Mary had been promiſed to Charles of Luxemburg. It ſeems to have been the luck of France to carry off all the women promiſed to the houſe of Auſtria.

The great point at which Maximilian always aims, is the eſtabliſhing his houſe. He concludes a
1515. marriage between Lewis prince of Hungary and Bohemia, and his grand-daughter, Mary of Auſtria, as well as between the princeſs Ann of Hungary, and one of his grand-ſons, Charles or Ferdinand, who were afterwards ſucceſſively emperors

This is the firſt contract whereby a girl is promiſed to either one huſband or another, as her parents ſhall think proper. Maximilian does not forget to mention, in this contract, that his houſe ſhall inherit Hungary, according to the ancient conventions between the houſes of Hungary and Bohemia. Nevertheleſs, theſe two kingdoms have been always elective, which does not at all agree with conventions of this nature, becauſe the votes

votes of the nation are neceſſary to ſupport the Auſtrian authority.

Charles, being declared of age at fifteen, pays homage to the king of France, Francis I. for Flanders, the Artois, and Charolois. Henry of Naſſau takes the oath of fidelity in the name of Charles.

Another new marriage is propoſed for the archduke Charles. Francis I. promiſed him madam Raignier his ſtep-ſiſter; but this appearance of union covers an inſatiable diſcord.

The duchy of Milan is ſtill the object of the ambition of Francis I as it had been of Lewis XII. He alſo, like his predeceſſor, begins by an alliance with the Venetians, and buys victories.

After the battle of Marignan, he takes all the Milaneſe in one campaign. Maximilian Sforza retires to live privately in France, upon a penſion of 30,000 crowns. Francis I. obliges pope Leo X. to give up Parma and Placentia. He makes him promiſe to ſurrender Modena and Reggio, to the duke of Ferrara. He concludes a peace with the Swiſs, whom he had defeated, and thus in one campaign becomes arbitrator of Italy. Thus the French always begin.

Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Arragon, grand-father to Charles V dies the 23d of January, after having prepared much glory for his grand-ſon, whom he very little regarded.

The ſucceſs of Francis I. revives Maximilian. He raiſes troops in Germany, with the money which Ferdinand had ſent him before his death: for the ſtates of the empire never furniſhed him with any money to carry on the quarrels in Italy. At length Leo X. breaks the treaties which he had been forced to make with Francis I. pays no regard to any of his promiſes; neither does he ſurrender Modena, Reggio, Parma, nor Placentia; ſo much had the popes always at heart the great deſign of keeping ſtrangers out of Italy; of making them deſtroy one the other; and of acquiring, by that expedient, a right over the Italian liberty, of which they were the avengers; glorious deſign, worthy of ancient Rome

Rome to attempt, not in the power of modern Rome to accompliſh.

The emperor Maximilian deſcends by the Trentine, beſieges Milan with 15,000 Swiſs; but this prince, who was always raiſing money, and always wanting it, not paying his Swiſs regularly, they mutinied. The emperor, fearing to be ſtopped by them, ſecures himſelf by flight. Here then you ſee the laſt efforts of the famous league of Cambray, which had ſtripped Lewis XII. and obliged an emperor to fly, for fear of being impriſoned by his hirelings.

He propoſes to Henry VIII. king of England, to cede him the empire and the duchy of Milan, merely with a view of extorting money from him; a circumſtance almoſt incredible, had it not been atteſted by letter under Henry's hand.

Another marriage is again ſtipulated with the archduke Charles, now king of Spain. Never prince had been promiſed to ſo many wives without having got one. Francis I. gives him his daughter Louiſa, aged one year.

This marriage, which turned out no better than the others, is ſtipulated in the treaty of Noyon. This treaty directs, that Charles ſhall do juſtice to the houſe of Navarre, ſtripped by Ferdinand the Catholic; and that he ſhould engage the emperor his grand-father, to make peace with the Venetians. This treaty is no better executed than the marriage, although it ſhould have brought into the emperor's treaſury 200,000 ducats, which the Venetians were to have paid him. Francis I. was alſo to give Charles 100,000 crowns a year, until he had full poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Spain. Nothing is more trifling nor more whimſical. One would imagine them gameſters endeavouring to deceive each other.

Immediately after this treaty the emperor makes another with his grand-ſon Charles and the king of England againſt France.

Charles paſſes into Spain. He is acknowledged
1517. king of Caſtile, jointly with Johannah his mother.

Pope

Pope Leo X. has two great projects on the anvil; that of arming the Chriſtian princes againſt the Turks, who were now become more formidable than ever, under Sultan Selim II. conqueror of Egypt; the other was to embelliſh Rome, and finiſh the baſilica of St. Peter, begun by Julius II. and abſolutely one of the fineſt monuments of architecture ever made by men. 1518.

He thought it would be allowed him to drain the money of Chriſtianity by the ſale of indulgences. Theſe indulgences were originally exemptions from certain impoſts, granted either by the emperors, or by the governors to certain countries that had been oppreſſed.

The popes, and alſo ſome biſhops, had applied theſe temporal indulgences to ſpiritual affairs, but in a very contrary manner.

The indulgences of the emperors were exemptions of the people, thoſe of the popes were taxes on them; much more ſo ſince the belief of purgatory had become generally eſtabliſhed, and that the vulgar, who are, in every country, at leaſt eighteen out of twenty, are led into a perſuaſion, that by obtaining a bit of paper at a very trifling price, they buy off years of puniſhment. A public ſale of this kind is one of thoſe ridiculous affairs, which people of the leaſt ſenſe in theſe times never think of. But then one ought no more to be ſurpriſed at it, than the people of the Eaſt to ſee the Bonzes and Talapoins ſell a remiſſion of all ſins for a ſixth part of a farthing.

There are every where offices of indulgence, where they are leaſed out as the rights of entries and exits. Moſt of theſe offices were held in houſes of entertainment. The preacher, the farmer, the diſtributor, were all gainers. Hitherto all was carried on very peaceably. In Germany the Auguſtines, who had been long in poſſeſſion of the farming of theſe follies, became jealous of the Dominicans, to whom this liberty was granted, and this was the firſt part of the quarrel that inflamed all Europe.

This revolution was begun by the ſon of a blackſmith, born at Eiſleben. This was Martin Luther, an Auguſtine

Auguſtine monk, employed by his ſuperiors to preach againſt a merchandiſe which they had no longer the vending of. The quarrel was at firſt between the Auguſtines and the Dominicans; but Luther, after having decried indulgences, began to examine into the power of him who granted them to Chriſtians. A corner of the veil was here lifted up. The people, once ſpirited, began to judge that which they adored. Luther is openly protected by Frederic the old elector of Saxony, ſurnamed The Wiſe. He who, after the death of Maximilian, had the courage to refuſe the empire. The doctrine of this monk was as yet neither firm nor confined. He contented himſelf, in the beginning, with ſaying, "That the communion ought to be adminiſtered in common bread and wine: that ſin remained in the infant after baptiſm: that auricular confeſſion was really uſeleſs: that neither popes nor councils could make articles of faith: that purgatory could not be proved by the canonical books: that monaſtic vows were an abuſe; and that all princes ought to unite in aboliſhing the mendicant friars."

Duke Frederic, elector of Saxony, as we have already ſaid, was the protector of Luther and of his doctrine. It is reported that this prince had ſufficient religion to conſtitute a Chriſtian; ſufficient reaſon to ſee the abuſes of it; and a ſtrong deſire to reform them. Perhaps much rather with a view of dividing the immenſe wealth which the clergy poſſeſſed in Saxony. He did not imagine then that he laboured for his enemies, and that the rich arch-duchy of Magdeburg would fall to the houſe of Brandenburg, already become his rival.

1519. While Luther, cited to the diet at Augſburg, withdraws himſelf, after having made his appearance, ſummons a future council, and prepares without knowing it, one of the greateſt revolutions that ever was made in the Chriſtian church, ſince the extinction of Paganiſm; the emperor Maximilian, who had been already forgot, dies at Inſpruc on the 12th of January, of a ſurfeit of melons.

A N

AN INTERREGNUM,

To the firſt of October, 1520.

THE electors of Saxony and the Palatinate jointly govern the empire, to the day of the emperor elect's coronation.

Francis I. king of France, and Charles of Auſtria, king of Spain, put in for the imperial crown. Either one or the other had it in his power to revive at leaſt ſome ſhadow of the Roman empire. The neighbourhood of the Turks, already become very formidable, put the electors under the dangerous neceſſity of chooſing a puiſſant emperor. Chriſtianity required that either Francis or Charles ſhould be elected: but it was the intereſt of pope Leo X. that neither one nor the other ſhould be put in the road of being his maſter. Charles, Francis, the great Turk, and Luther, were all of them objects equally, at that time, to influence the pope with fear.

Leo X. croſſes, as much as poſſible, the two competitors. Seven great princes were, at the moſt critical juncture, to diſpoſe of the foremoſt place in Europe, and votes are, nevertheleſs, bought. In the midſt of theſe intrigues, and during this interregnum, the ancient and modern laws of Germany are not without their force. The Germans teach princes that great and uſeful leſſon, of not abuſing their power. The league of Suabia renders itſelf praiſe-worthy, by making war upon duke Ulric of Wirtemberg, who oppreſſed his vaſſals.

This league of Suabia is really eſtabliſhed for the public good. It obliges the duke to abandon his territories, but afterwards ſells them for a ſcandalous price to Charles of Auſtria. Then every thing is done for money! How comes it that Charles, ready to mount the imperial throne, thus plunders ſuch a houſe, and purchaſes, for a very trifle, the eſtate of another?

Leo X. attempts governing deſpotically in Tuſcany.

The electors meet at Frankfort. Can it be true, that they offer the imperial crown to Frederic, ſurnamed The Wiſe, elector of Saxony, the great protector of Luther? Was he ſolemnly elected? No. In what then conſiſts his refuſal? In this; that his character had made him the object of public election, he having before given his intereſt to Charles, and his recommendation influencing the other votes.

Charles V. is unanimouſly elected on the 28th of June, 1519.

CHARLES V.

Forty-first Emperor.

THIS year is that of the firſt capitulation drawn up for the emperor. It was before this ſufficient they took an oath of fidelity at their coronation. An oath void of juſtice, opens a paſſage to injuſtice. There ought to be a ſtronger bulwark againſt the abuſe of authority of a prince ſo powerful in himſelf.

By this certain contract of the ſovereign with the conſtituents, the emperor promiſes, that if he has any eſtates to which he ſhall appear not properly entitled, he will give them up at the firſt intimation of the electors. This is promiſing a great deal.

Some conſiderable authors pretend, that they ſwore him alſo to a conſtant reſidence in Germany; but the capitulation expreſly ſays, "that he ſhall reſide there as long as he poſſibly can." To exact a piece of injuſtice, gives too much pretext for neglecting the execution of that which is juſt.

The day of Charles the fifth's election is marked by a battle between a biſhop of Hildeſheim and a duke of Brunſwick, in the duchy of Lunenburg. They diſpute about a fief, and in ſpite of the eſtabliſhment of the Auſtregues, of the imperial chamber, and the aulic council, in ſpite of the authority of the two vicars of the empire, there are bloody engagements almoſt daily, for the moſt trifling matters, between the biſhops, the princes, and the

the barons. Some laws, indeed, ſubſiſted, at that time in Germany; but the coercive, which is the chief power of laws, was wanting.

The news of Charles's election is carried to him in Spain by the elector Palatine. The grandees of Spain at that time reckoned themſelves equal to electors; the peers of France rank above them; and the cardinals take the right hand of both.

Spain, fearing to become a province of the empire, Charles is obliged to declare that kingdom independent. He goes to Germany; but firſt makes a voyage to England, even ſo early to engage in a league with Henry VIII. againſt Francis I. He is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, the 23d of October, 1520. At the time of the acceſſion of Charles V. to the empire, Europe inſenſibly aſſumes a new aſpect. The Ottoman power fixes itſelf at Conſtantinople on a foundation not to be overturned.

The emperor, king of the Two Sicilies, and of Spain, prepares to form a league againſt the Turks. The Venetians, at the ſame time, ſtand in awe of the Sultan and emperor.

Pope Leo X. is maſter of only a trifling territory, and already finds one half of Europe endeavouring to eſcape from his ſpiritual authority; for, about the year 1520, from the extremity of the North, all the way to France, the people were revolting both againſt the abuſe of the Roman church, and againſt its laws.

Francis I. king of France, rather a brave ſoldier than a great prince, had more deſire than he had power to pull down Charles V. Had his prudence and his ſtrength been equal, how could they have ſucceeded againſt an emperor, king of Spain and Naples, ſovereign of the Low-Countries, whoſe frontiers extended even to the gates of Amiens, and into whoſe ports of Spain the treaſures of a new-found world began already to be poured *?

* About this time Ferdinando Magalianus, a Portugueſe, in the ſervice of Charles V. diſcovered that paſſage into the South Sea, called from his name the Streights of Magellan; and Cortes made a conqueſt of Mexico.

Henry VIII. king of England pretends at length to hold the balance between Charles V. and Francis I. A great example of what the courage of the Engliſh, aſſiſted by the riches of their commerce, was able to do. In this review of Europe it is obſervable, that Henry VIII. one of the principal perſonages, was one of the greateſt ſcourges the earth ever felt; abſolute even to brutality; furious in his anger; barbarous in his amours; a murderer of his wives; and a tyrant as capricious in the government of his kingdom, as in the management of religion: yet did he die in his bed; and Mary Stuart, who had only a criminal weakneſs †, and Charles I. who could be reproached with nothing but goodneſs, died upon the ſcaffold.

A king ſtill more wicked than Henry VIII, that is Chriſtian II. after reuniting to his power Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, a monſter always ſtained with blood, and ſurnamed the Nero of the North, yet at laſt is puniſhed for all his crimes; altho' the brother of Chriſtian V. is dethroned, and dies in priſon in old age, the object of contempt and deteſtation.

Thus have I drawn, in miniature, the principal Chriſtian princes who made a figure in Europe, when Charles V. took the reins of the empire.

Sciences flouriſhed at that time in Italy more than ever. But ſhe was never more diſtant from that great end propoſed by Julius II. of driving the Barbarians out of Italy. The European powers were almoſt always at war; but happily for the people, the little armies, which were raiſed for a time, returned afterwards to the cultivation of the earth; and, in the midſt of the moſt obſtinate diſputes, Europe had not above one-fifth of the ſoldiers which ſhe now maintains in times of profound peace. They knew nothing of that continual and dreadful effort which conſumes the ſubſtance of a government in always keeping on foot thoſe numerous armies, which in time of peace can only be employed againſt the people, and may one day become fatal to their maſters.

The

† And even that very doubtful.

The principal force of the Chriſtian armies conſiſted always in cavalry: foot was generally deſpiſed: therefore the Germans called them *Lands-Knechte*, tillers of the earth. The janiſaries were the only formidable infantry.

France almoſt always made uſe of foreign infantry. The Swiſs as yet made no other uſe of their liberty, than to ſell their blood, and he generally believed himſelf ſure of victory, in whoſe army there was the greateſt number of Swiſs. They preſerved this reputation until the battle of Marignan, where Francis I. defeated them with his cavalry, when he firſt attempted an invaſion of Italy.

War began to grow more an art under Charles V. than it had ever been before. His great ſucceſſes; the progreſs of ſcience in Italy; the reformation, in point of religion, of one half of Europe; commerce opened with India by the ocean, and the conqueſts of Mexico and Peru, will make this age eternally memorable.

A diet at Worms, famous for re-eſtabliſhing the imperial chamber, which no longer ſubſiſted but in name. 1521.

Charles V. eſtabliſhes two vicars, not of the empire, but of the emperor. The vicars of the empire are Saxony and the Palatine, whoſe decrees are irrevocable. The vicars of the emperor are governors accountable only to the ſovereign. Theſe governors were his brother Ferdinand, to whom he had given his poſſeſſions in Auſtria, the count Palatine, with twenty two aſſiſtants.

This diet ſummons to appear before them the dukes of Brunſwic and of Lunenburg on the one part, and the biſhops of Hildeſheim and of Minden on the other, who maintained a continual war upon each other. They deſpiſe their decree, and are put under the ban of the empire, which they alſo hold in contempt, perſiſting in mutual hoſtility. The power of Charles V. is not yet ſufficiently ſtrong to give force to his laws. Two biſhops, armed and rebellious, diſpoſe the people very much, not only againſt the church, but its poſſeſſions.

Luther comes to this diet with a protection from the emperor; nor does he fear the fate of John Hus. The

prieſts were not the ſtrongeſt party in this diet. They confer with him; but neither ſide rightly underſtand the other, ſo that they agree upon nothing, and let him return in peace to Saxony to deſtroy the Roman religion. On the 6th of May the emperor publiſhes an edict againſt Luther in his abſence, enjoining, under pain of diſobedience, every prince and ſovereignty of the empire to impriſon him and his adherents. This proclamation was levelled at the duke of Saxony, who, it was well known, would not obey it. But the emperor, who had united with Leo X againſt Francis I. was willing to appear as a Catholic.

He attempts in this diet to form an alliance between the empire and the king of Denmark, Chriſtian II. his brother-in-law, aſſuring him of ſuccour. Sentiments of horror againſt tyranny are always predominant in general aſſemblies; the enthuſiaſm of virtue muſt communicate itſelf, and the cries of nature will be heard. The whole diet exclaims againſt an alliance with a villain, contaminated with the blood of ninety-four ſenators butchered before his eyes by the common executioners in Stockholm, afterwards delivered up to be plundered. It is pretended that Charles V. had in view the ſecuring to himſelf the three Northern crowns, in aiding his unworthy brother.

The ſame year, pope Leo X. more cunning perhaps than wiſe, and finding that between Francis I. and Charles V. he ſhould be only involved, makes, almoſt at the ſame time, a treaty with each; the firſt, in 1520, with Francis I. to whom he promiſes the kingdom of Naples, reſerving to himſelf Gaietta, and this by virtue of that chimerical law, that a king of Naples can never be emperor. His ſecond treaty was in 1521, with Charles V. to drive the French out of Italy, and give the Milaneſe to Francis Sforza, a younger ſon of Lewis the Moor, and above all, to obtain for the holy ſee Ferrara, of which they always attempt to deprive the houſe of Eſte.

The firſt hoſtility that engages the empire againſt France, is this. The duke of Bouillon, Robert de la Mark, ſovereign of the caſtle of Bouillon, ſolemnly declares

clares war by a herald againſt Charles V. and ravages Luxemburg. It is well known that he was ſtirred up by Francis I. who in public denied it.

Charles, united with Henry VIII. and pope Leo X. makes war upon Francis I. on the ſide of Picardy, and towards the Milaneſe. In 1520 it had been already begun in Spain; but Spain is but an appendix to the annals of the empire.

Lautrec, governor for the king of France in the Milaneſe, a very unfortunate general, becauſe he is raſh and imprudent, is driven out of Milan, Pavia, Lodi, Parma, and Placentia, by Proſpero di Colonna.

Leo X. dies on the 2d of December, George marquis de Malaſpina, attached to France, and ſuppoſed to have poiſoned the pope, is arreſted, and clears himſelf of a crime, which would have been very hard to prove.

This pope had 12,000 Swiſs at his command.

Cardinal Wolſey, tyrant of Henry VIII. who was the tyrant of England, has a mind to be pope. Charles V. dupes him, and manifeſts his power by giving the papacy to his preceptor Adrian, a native of Utrecht, and then regent of Spain.

Adrian is elected on the 9th of January, and preſerves his name, notwithſtanding the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the eleventh century. The emperor abſolutely governs the papacy. The old league of the towns of Suabia is confirmed at Ulm for eleven years. The emperor has ſome reaſon to fear it, but he inclines to pleaſe the Germans.

Charles again repairs to England. He receives at Windſor the order of the garter, and promiſes to marry his couſin Mary, daughter to his aunt Catharine of Arragon and Henry VIII. 1522. ſhe who was afterwards married to his ſon Philip. He ſubmits, by an aſtoniſhing clauſe, in caſe he ſhould not marry this princeſs, to forfeit 500,000 crowns*. This

* According to Sleidanus, the emperor obliged himſelf to eſpouſe his couſin the princeſs Mary, then ſeven years of age, and to pay the yearly ſum of 130,000 ducats to the king of England, while Henry ſhould continue to make war upon the French king, until

is the fifth time of his having been promiſed, without being once married. He divides France already in imagination with Henry VIII. who begins to think of reviving the pretenſion of his anceſtors to that kingdom.

The emperor borrows money of the king of England. Here the enigma of his forfeiting 500,000 crowns is explained. This money lent is to ſerve one day as a portion, and this ſingular forfeiture is required of Henry VIII. as a ſort of ſecurity. The emperor gives the prime miniſter, cardinal Wolſey, penſions, which do not recompence him for the loſs of the papacy. Why is the moſt powerful emperor, that has been ſince the days of Charlemagne, obliged, Maximilian-like, to borrow money of Henry VIII? He makes war on the ſide of the Pyrenæan mountains, of Picardy, and in Italy, all at the ſame time. Germany bears no part in his expence; Spain very little; the mines of Mexico furniſh yet no regular produce; the expences of his coronation, and his firſt eſtabliſhments of every kind, were immenſe.

Charles V. is every where ſucceſsful. Cremona and Lodi are all that remain to Francis I. in the Milaneſe. Genoa, which he had hitherto poſſeſſed, is taken from him by the Imperialiſts. The emperor allows Francis Sforza, the laſt prince of that race, to enter Milan.

But in the mean time the Ottoman power threatens Germany. The Turks are in Hungary. Solyman, as formidable as Selim and Mahomet II. had been, takes Belgrade, and thence proceeds to the ſiege of Rhodes, which capitulates in about three months.

This year is pregnant with great events. The ſtates of Denmark ſolemnly depoſe their tyrant Chriſtian, whom they look upon as a criminal, and imagine they do him a kindneſs in confining themſelves barely to depoſing him. Guſtavus Vaſa baniſhes the Catholic religion in Sweden. All the North, even to the Weſer, is ready to follow this example.

While

until Charles ſhould conſummate his marriage with the princeſs Mary, or Henry ſhould have acquired lands in France ſufficient to yield that revenue.

While a controverſial war threatens Germany with a revolution, and while Solyman menaces Chriſtianity in Europe, the quarrels between Charles V. and Francis I. occaſion new misfortunes both to Italy and France. 1523.

Charles V. and Henry VIII. in order to cruſh Francis I. engage in their cauſe the conſtable of Bourbon, who, excited by ambition and revenge, rather than by a patriotic love of his country, undertakes to cauſe a diverſion in the heart of France, as ſoon as the enemies of Francis ſhall attack his frontiers. They promiſe him in marriage Eleonora, ſiſter of Charles V. widow of the king of Portugal, and, what is ſtill more eſſential, Provence, with other territories, which they are to erect into a kingdom.

To give the laſt ſtroke to France, the emperor enters into alliance with the Venetians, pope Adrian, and the Florentines. Duke Francis Sforza remains poſſeſſed of Milan, which is wreſted from Francis I. But the emperor does not yet acknowledge Sforza to be duke of Milan; and declines deciding upon that province, until he ſhall become ſo abſolutely maſter of it, that the French can have no more pretenſion.

The Imperial troops enter Champagne. The treachery of the conſtable of Bourbon being diſcovered, he is obliged to fly, and goes to command for the emperor in Italy.

In the midſt of theſe great troubles, a trivial war breaks out between the electors of Triers and the nobleſſe of Alſace, which appears like a ſmall vortex moving within a great one. Charles V. is too much ingroſſed with ruminating on his vaſt deſigns, and his variety of intereſts, to attend to the pacifying theſe tranſitory quarrels.

Clement VII. ſucceeds Adrian the 29th of November. He was of the houſe of Medicis. His papacy will be eternally remarkable for his unfortunate connections; for that weakneſs which at length cauſed the deſtruction of Rome, ſacked by the army of Charles V. it will be always diſtinguiſhed by the loſs of the Florentine liberty, and by the irrevocable defection of England, torn from the Roman church.

The firſt ſtep of Clement VII. is the ſending a legate to the diet at Nuremberg, in order to engage
1524. Germany to arm againſt Solyman, and to anſwer a writing, intitled, "The Hundred Complaints againſt the Court of Rome." He ſucceeds in neither one nor the other.

It was not at all extraordinary that Adrian, the preceptor, and afterwards the miniſter of Charles V. a man born with the genius of a ſubaltern, ſhould enter into a league which muſt render the emperor abſolute maſter of Italy, and ſoon of all Europe. Clement VII. had nevertheleſs ſufficient courage to detach himſelf from this league, in hopes to hold an equal balance.

There was at that time a man of the ſame family, who was indeed a great man. This was John de Medicis, Charles V's general. He commanded for the emperor in Italy, together with the conſtable of Bourbon. It was he that in this year completed the driving the French out of that little part of the Milaneſe which they ſtill poſſeſſed; who beat Bonivet at Biagraſſa, where the famous chevalier Bayard loſt his life.

The marquis de Peſcara, whom the French call Peſcacie, a noble rival to John de Medicis, marches into Provence with the duke of Bourbon: the latter determines on the ſiege of Marſeilles, in ſpite of Peſcara, and the enterprize miſcarries; but Provence is ravaged.

Francis I. when he ought to have aſſembled an army, purſues the Imperialiſts, who withdraw: he paſſes the Alps: he, to his misfortune, enters that duchy of Milan, which had been ſo often won and loſt. The houſe of Savoy was not yet ſufficiently ſtrong to ſtop the progreſs of the French arms.

At that time the ancient papal policy diſplayed itſelf; and the fear, which a powerful emperor inſpired, makes Clement VII an ally to Francis I. to whom he offers the kingdom of Naples. Francis marches thither a large detachment of his army: thus, by dividing his forces, he weakens himſelf, and prepares inevitable misfortunes for himſelf and Rome.

The

The king of France beſieges Pavia. The count de Lanoy, viceroy of Naples, Peſcara, and Bourbon, endeavour to raiſe the ſiege, by forcing a paſſage at Mirabel Park, where Francis I. was poſted. The French artillery alone put the Imperialiſts to the route. The king of France ought not to have moved, and he was beaten. He engages in the purſuit, and is intirely defeated. The Swiſs, who made up the force of his infantry, abandoned him and fled; and he was not perſuaded of the ill conſequences of having an intire mercenary body of infantry, nor of having relied too much on his own courage, until he fell a captive into the hands of the Imperialiſts, and of that Bourbon, whom he had abuſed and forced into rebellion. 1525.

Charles V. received the news of his exceſſive good fortune at Madrid, where he ſtill was, and diſſembled his joy. They ſend him his priſoner. He then appears abſolute maſter of Europe: and had been ſo effectually, had he purſued his fortune at the head of 50,000 men, inſtead of remaining at Madrid. But his ſucceſſes raiſed him enemies; and the more ſo, ſince he, who paſſed for one of the moſt active princes, did not make a proper uſe of them.

Cardinal Wolſey, who was out of humour with the emperor, inſtead of perſuading Henry VIII. whom he governed, to enter France, then abandoned, and an eaſy prey, engages him to declare againſt Charles V. thereby ſeizing that balance which had eſcaped the feeble hands of Clement VII. Bourbon, whom Charles flattered with the hopes of a kingdom, made up of Provence, Dauphiné, and the eſtate of the conſtable, is as yet no more than governor of the Milaneſe.

One muſt neceſſarily believe that Charles V. had ſome ſecret weighty engagements in Spain, ſince at that critical time he neither entered France, intirely open to invaſion, nor Italy, which to him might have been an eaſy conqueſt; nor yet Germany, where new diſputes, and the love of independency, created freſh troubles.

The

The different ſectaries knew very well what they would not believe, but did not know what they would believe. All agreed in exclaiming againſt the abuſes of the court of Rome and its church, and they introduced other abuſes. Melanchton oppoſes Luther upon ſome articles.

Storck, a native of Sileſia, goes farther than Luther had done He is the founder of the ſect of Anabaptiſts, whoſe apoſtle is Muncer. They both preach ſword in hand. Luther began with engaging the princes in his party. Muncer eſtabliſhed his among the people of the country, whom he ſoothed and ſpirited with a notion of equality, nature's primitive law, which had been deſtroyed by force and aſſociations. The firſt fury of the peaſants diſplayed itſelf in Suabia, where they were greater ſlaves than elſewhere. Muncer goes to Thuringia, and there, whilſt he preaches equality, makes himſelf maſter of Mulhauſen; and, whilſt he preaches up diſintereſtedneſs, cauſes the wealth of the inhabitants to be laid at his feet. All the peaſants riſe in Suabia, Franconia, in part of Thuringia, the Palatinate, and Alſace.

Indeed theſe ſort of ſavages draw up a manifeſto, which a Lycurgus would have ſigned. They inſiſt "upon paying only the tithes of their corn, which ſhall be employed to relieve the poor; that they ſhall have free liberty of water and chace; that they ſhall be allowed wood to build cabins, to defend them againſt the cold; and that their daily labour ſhall be leſſened." They lay claim to the rights of human nature, but they ſupport them like wild beaſts. They maſſacre all the gentlemen they meet. A natural ſon of the emperor has his throat cut.

It is very remarkable, that theſe peaſants at laſt ſet a gentleman at their head, like the revolted ſlaves mentioned in antiquity, who, finding themſelves incapable of governing, choſe for their king the only maſter that had eſcaped the ſlaughter.

They ſeize upon Heilbron, Spire, Wurtzbourg, and the countries round theſe towns.

Muncer

Muncer and Storck lead the army in quality of prophets. The old elector of Saxony, Frederic, engages in a bloody battle with them near Franchuſen, in the county of Mansfield. In vain do the two prophets ſing canticles in the name of the Lord: theſe fanatics are intirely defeated. Muncer, taken after the battle, is condemned to loſe his head: he abjures his tenets before his death: he had been no enthuſiaſt: he had only conducted thoſe that were: but his diſciple Piffer, condemned along with him, dies fully perſuaded of them. Storck returns to preach in Sileſia, and ſends diſciples into Poland. The emperor, in the mean time, negociates at his eaſe with the king of France, his priſoner at Madrid.

The principal articles of the treaty, whereby Charles V. impoſes laws upon Francis I. are theſe: 1526.

The king of France gives up to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy and the county of Charolois. He renounces his right to ſovereignty upon the Artois and upon Flanders: he cedes to him Arras, Tournay, Mortagne, St Amand, Liſle, Douay, Orchies, and Heſdin: he deſiſts from his pretenſions upon the Two Sicilies, the Milaneſe, the county of Aſte, and upon Genoa: he promiſes no longer to protect the duke of Gueldres, whom he had always ſupported againſt this powerful emperor; nor the duke of Wirtemburg, who claimed his duchy, which had been ſold to the houſe of Auſtria: he promiſes to oblige the heirs to the crown of Navarre to renounce their rights to it: he ſigns an offenſive and defenſive league with the conqueror, who had raviſhed from him ſo many territories, and promiſes to marry Eleonora his ſiſter.

He is obliged to receive into favour the duke of Burgundy, to reſtore him his eſtate, and to indemnify not only him but all his party.

Nor was this all: the two eldeſt ſons of this king were to be delivered up as hoſtages for fulfilling the treaty, which is ſigned the 14th of January.

While

While the king of France brings his two ſons to be left captives in his ſtead, Lanoy, viceroy of Naples, enters his apartments booted, to make him ſign the contract of marriage with Eleonora, whom he had never ſeen, and who was then four leagues off. A ſtrange way this of taking a wife!

It is affirmed, that Francis I. made a formal proteſtation againſt all his promiſes, in the preſence of a notary, before he ſigned them. It is difficult to believe, that a notary of Madrid either would or could enter the priſon of a king, to witneſs ſuch an act.

The dauphin and the duke of Orleans are ſent into Spain, exchanged for their father upon the river Andoye, and carried into bondage.

Charles might have had Burgundy, had he cauſed it to have been ceded before he had releaſed his priſoner. The king of France expoſed his two children to the emperor's anger by not keeping his word. There had been a time when ſuch an infringement would have coſt theſe two princes their lives.

Francis I. cauſes it to be repreſented by the ſtates of Burgundy, that he cannot part with ſo fine a province of France. He ought not then to have promiſed it. Such was the ſituation of this king, that every party was ſorry for him.

On the 22d of May, Francis I. whoſe misfortunes and neceſſities had procured him many friends, ſigns a league at Cognac with pope Clement VII. the king of England, the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Swiſs, againſt the emperor. This league is called Holy, becauſe the pope is at the head of it. The king thereby ſtipulates, to put that very duke, Francis Sforza, whom before he would have ſtripped of it, in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe.

He concludes with fighting for his old enemies The emperor finds France, England, and Italy, at once arming againſt his power; becauſe that power itſelf was not ſufficiently ſtrong to prevent ſuch a revolution, and becauſe he remained idle at Madrid, when he ought to have proceeded in making a proper uſe of the victories won by his generals.

During

During this confuſion of intrigues and of wars, the Imperialiſts were maſters not only of Milan, but of almoſt the whole province; Francis Sforza poſſeſſing no more than the caſtle of Milan: but as ſoon as the league is ſigned, there is a riſing in the Milaneſe. They take part with their duke. The Venetians march and take Lodi from the emperor. The duke of Urbino enters the Milaneſe at the head of the pope's army. In ſpite of ſo many enemies, the good fortune of Charles preſerves Italy to him: he ought to have loſt it for ſtaying at Madrid; but it is defended for him by the old Antonio de Leva, and his other generals. Francis I. cannot march troops faſt enough from his own weakened kingdom; the pope's army acts ſlowly, and that of Venice faintly. Francis Sforza is obliged to give up his caſtle of Milan. A very ſmall number of Spaniards and Germans, properly commanded and accuſtomed to victory, procure all theſe advantages for Charles, at a time of his life when he ſcarcely does any thing himſelf: he remains ſtill at Madrid; he applies himſelf to the regulating ranks and forming titles: he marries Iſabella, daughter to Emanuel the Great king of Portugal; while the new elector of Saxony, John the Conſtant, profeſſes the reformed religion, aboliſhing that of Rome in Saxony; while Philip landgrave of Heſſe does the ſame in his dominions, Frankfort eſtabliſhes a Lutheran ſenate; and while a great number of Teutonic knights, deſtined to the defence of the church, quit it in order to marry, and appropriate to the uſe of their families the commanderies of the order.

Fifty of the Knights Templars had been formerly burned, and the order extirpated, for no other reaſon but becauſe they were rich. The Teutonic order was powerful: Albert of Brandenburgh, who was grand maſter of it, divides Pruſſia with Poland, and remains ſovereign of that part called Ducal Pruſſia, doing homage and paying tribute to the king of Poland. This revolution is commonly placed in 1525.

Things being thus circumſtanced, the Lutherans haughtily demand the eſtabliſhment of their religion in Germany at the diet of Spire; while Ferdinand, who holds

holds this diet, requeſts aſſiſtance againſt Solyman, who returns to the attack of Hungary. The diet grants neither the liberty of religion, nor the ſuccours in behalf of Chriſtianity againſt the Ottomans.

The young Lewis, king of Hungary and Bohemia, imagines he ſhall be able alone to ſuſtain the attacks of the Turkiſh empire. He hazards a battle with Solyman. It was called the battle of Mohats, from the field on which it was fought, not far from Buda. It was as dreadful in its conſequences to the Chriſtians as the battle of Varnes. Almoſt all the nobleſſe of Hungary periſhed therein. The army is intirely cut to pieces, and the king in his flight drowned in a moraſs. The writers of thoſe times tell us, that Solyman cauſed 1500 Hungarian priſoners, who were of the nobleſſe, to be beheaded; yet that he wept at ſeeing the picture of the unfortunate king Lewis. It is ſcarcely credible, that a man, who in cold blood could ſtrike the heads off 1500 noblemen, ſhould weep for the death of one. Theſe two facts are equally doubtful.

Solyman takes Buda, and menaces the ſurrounding countries. This misfortune of Chriſtianity aggrandizes the houſe of Auſtria. The archduke Ferdinand, brother to Charles V. demands Hungary and Bohemia, as eſtates which ought to devolve to him by family compacts, by way of inheritance. This right of inheritance was reconciled by the right of election made by the people, the one ſupporting the other. The ſtates of Hungary elect him on the 26th of October.

In the mean time another party declare John Zapoli, count of Scepus, vaivode of Tranſilvania, king in Alba Regalis. Perhaps no kingdom ſince that time was ſo unfortunate as Hungary. It was almoſt always divided into two factions, and over-run by the Turks. Ferdinand, in the mean time, has the good luck to drive out his rival in a few days, and to be crowned at Buda, whence the Turks had withdrawn themſelves.

On the 24th of February Ferdinand is elected king of Bohemia, without any competitor; and he
1527. acknowledges that he holds the kingdom *ex libera et bona voluntate*, by the free and good-will of thoſe who had choſen him. Charles

Charles V. remains ſtill in Spain, while his houſe acquires two kingdoms, and his fortune in Italy outſoars his projects.

He pays but badly his troops under the command of the duke of Bourbon, and of Philibert de Chalons prince of Orange; however, they ſubſiſt upon rapine, to which they give the name of contribution. The Holy League was conſiderably diſordered. The king of France had neglected that vengeance which he ſought after, and had not yet ſent an army beyond the Alps. The Venetians ſtir but little, the pope ſtill leſs, and he is reduced to raiſe very bad troops. Bourbon leads his ſoldiers ſtraight to Rome, which he ſtorms on the 27th, but is killed in ſcaling the walls; however, the prince of Orange enters the town. The pope takes refuge, and is made priſoner in the caſtle of St. Angelo. The town is pillaged and deſtroyed, as it had formerly been by Alaric and by other Barbarians.

It is ſaid that the pillage amounted to fifteen millions of crowns. Charles, for only requiring half that ſum as its ranſom, might have reigned in Rome: but, after the troops had lived there for nine months at diſcretion, he was obliged to part with it. His luck was the ſame with all others who had ſacked that capital.

There had been too much blood ſpilled in this diſaſter; but many ſoldiers, who were enriched by the ſpoil, remained inhabitants of the country; and in Rome, and the neighbourhood round it, in ſome few months, were reckoned not leſs than 4700 young women with child. Rome, that had formerly been inhabited by Goths and Vandals, was now peopled by Spaniards and Germans: the blood of the Romans had been mixed with that of a crowd of ſtrangers under the Cæſars. At this day there is but one ſingle family in Rome that can call itſelf Roman. No more than the name and ruins of this miſtreſs of the world ſubſiſt.

During the impriſonment of the pope, Alphonſo I. duke of Ferrara, from whom Julius II. had taken Modena and Reggio, recovers his poſſeſſions, when Clement VII. capitulates in the caſtle of St. Angelo. The Malateſtas poſſeſs themſelves again of Rimini. The Venetians,

Venetians, allies to the pope, take Ravenna, to guard it for him, ſay they, againſt the emperor. The Florentines, ſhaking off the yoke of the Medicis, ſet themſelves at liberty.

Francis I. and Henry VIII. inſtead of ſending troops into Italy, ſend ambaſſadors to the emperor, who was then at Valladolid. Fortune, in leſs than two years, had put into his hands Rome, the Milaneſe, a king of France, and a pope, without his making uſe of theſe opportunities.

Strong enough to pillage Rome, he was not able to keep it, and the old claim of the emperors, their pretence upon the dominion of Rome, remaining ſtill eclipſed.

At length Francis I. ſends an army into the Milaneſe, under that very Lautrec who had before loſt it, leaving his two children ſtill in bondage. This army once more retakes the Milaneſe, which they had won and loſt in ſo ſhort a time. This diverſion and the plague, which ravage Rome and the conquering army at the ſame time, pave the way for the pope's deliverance. Charles V. on one ſide ſings Te Deum, and makes proceſſions in Spain for this deliverance of the holy father, whom he nevertheleſs holds in captivity; on the other, he ſells him his liberty for 400,000 ducats. Clement VII. lays down 100,000, and makes his eſcape without having paid the reſt.

While Rome is ſacked, and the pope ranſomed in the name of Charles V. the protector of the Catholic faith, ſuch ſects as were enemies to that religion make new progreſs. The ſacking of Rome, and the pope's captivity, give the Lutherans freſh ſpirits.

Maſs is legally aboliſhed at Straſburg, in conſequence of a public diſpute. Ulm, Augſburg, and many other imperial towns, declare themſelves Lutherans. The council of Berne admit the cauſe of the Catholics and that of the Sacramentarians, diſciples of Zuinglius, to be pleaded before them. Theſe ſectaries differ from the Lutherans principally about the Euchariſt. The Zuinglians affirm, that God is in the bread only by faith; and the Lutherans affirm, that God is with the bread, in the bread,

bread, and upon the bread; but all agree that the bread exiſts. Geneva and Conſtance follow the example of Berne. The Zuinglians are the progenitors of Calviniſts; of people of ſound ſenſe, but ſimple and auſtere. The Bohemians, the Germans, and the Swiſs, are thoſe who ravaged one half of Europe at the ſiege of Rome.

The Anabaptiſts renew their fury, in the name of the Lord, from the Palatinate to Wirtſburg. They are diſperſed by the elector Palatine, aſſiſted by the generals Truchſes and Fronſberg.

The Anabaptiſts appear again in Utrecht, and cauſe the archbiſhop of that town, who was the ſovereign of it, to ſell it to Charles V. leſt the duke of Gueldres ſhould make himſelf maſter of it. 1528.

This duke, ſecretly protected by France, oppoſes Charles V. whom nothing could hitherto withſtand. Charles makes peace with him, on condition that the duchy of Gueldres and the county of Zutphen ſhould revert to the houſe of Auſtria, in caſe of the duke's dying without male iſſue.

The quarrels of religion ſeem to demand the preſence of Charles in Germany, while war ſummons him to Italy.

Two heralds, Guienne and Clarencieux, the one on the part of France, the other on that of England, declare war againſt him at Madrid. Francis I. had no buſineſs to declare it, becauſe he had already done it in the Milaneſe, and Henry VIII. ſtill leſs, becauſe he had not done it at all.

It is an idle fancy to think, that princes neither act nor ſpeak but like politicians. They do both like men. The emperor ſharply reproaches the king of England with his intended divorce from Catharine of Arragon, who was Charles's aunt, and charges the herald Clarencieux to tell him, that cardinal Wolſey adviſed both the divorce and the war, to revenge himſelf for the loſs of the papacy. As to Francis I. he reproaches him with the breach of his promiſe, and declares he will fight him hand to hand. It is true, that Francis I. had broke his word;

word; but it is no leſs true, that to keep it had been extremely difficult.

Francis I. anſwers him in theſe terms: "You lie in your throat, and as often as you repeat it, you lie,* &c. Appoint the place of combat, we ſhall meet you properly prepared." The emperor ſends a herald to the king of France, to notify the place of combat, whom the king receives on the 10th of September in the moſt magnificent manner. The herald would have ſpoken before the delivery of his letter, wherein was aſcertained the place of engagement; but the king ſilences him, and will only ſee the letter, which therefore was never produced. Thus the time of two kings is taken up, with giving each other the lye by heralds at arms. There is in this procedure an air of knight-errantry and ridicule, very different from our manners.

During all theſe bravadoes, Charles V. loſes the fruits of the battle of Pavia, of the taking of the king, and the captivity of the pope. He is alſo near loſing the kingdom of Naples. Lautrec had already ſeized upon Abbruzzo intirely. The Venetians had poſſeſſed themſelves of moſt of the maritime towns of that kingdom. The celebrated Andrew Doria, then in the French ſervice, had with the gallies of Genoa beaten the imperial fleet. The emperor, who ſix months before was maſter of Italy, is near being driven out of it; but it is the fate of the French, to loſe always in Italy what they had gained.

The contagion reaches their army. Lautrec dies. Naples is evacuated. Henry duke of Brunſwick with a new army approaches to defend the Milaneſe againſt the French, and againſt Sforza.

Doria, who had contributed ſo much to the ſucceſs of France, diſguſted at Francis I. and fearing an arreſt, quits his ſervice, and paſſes over to that of the emperor with his gallies.

The

* This anſwer gives him a higher idea of the French king's ſpirit, than of his veracity or good breeding; and yet, when the difference became very critical, his ſpirit ſeemed to flag, as we have obſerved in another part of this work.

The war continues in the Milaneſe, and pope Clement VII. negotiates while he waits the event of it. It was no longer a time to excommunicate an emperor, or transfer his ſceptre into other hands by divine appointment. This formerly might have been the caſe, had he refuſed to lead the pope's horſe by the bridle; but the pope, after his impriſonment, after the ſacking of Rome, ineffectually ſupported by the French, fearing even the Venetians, his allies, willing to eſtabliſh his family at Florence, perceiving beſides Sweden, Denmark, and one half of Germany, fallen from the Roman church; the pope, I ſay, in theſe extremities, reſpected and feared Charles V. ſo very much, that inſtead of breaking the marriage between Henry VIII. and Catharine, the aunt of Charles, he was ready to excommunicate that very Henry VIII. his ally, becauſe Charles required it.

The king of England, a ſlave to his paſſions, bends his thoughts upon nothing but being ſeparated from his wife Catharine of Arragon, a very virtuous woman, by whom he had a daughter ſome years before, and marrying his miſtreſs Ann of Bolein, or Bollen, or Boulen. 1529.

Francis I. ſtill leaves his two children captives to Charles V. in Spain, and makes war againſt him in the Milaneſe. Duke Francis Sforza ſtill leagued with that king, and ſeeks the countenance of the emperor, willing to preſerve his duchy by the hands of the ſtronger, and fearing to loſe it, either by the one or by the other. Germany is rent by the Proteſtants and Catholics. The ſultan Solyman prepares to attack it, and Charles V. remains at Valadolid.

Old Antonio de Leva, one of the greateſt generals in his time, 73 years old, ſick of the gout, and carried on a litter, defeats the French in the Milaneſe, near the frontiers of Pavia. The remainder of them diſperſe, and quit a country that has been ſo fatal to them. The pope ſtill continues to treat, and had happily concluded his negotiation, before the French receive this laſt ſtroke. The emperor treats the pope very generouſly; firſt, to make amends in the eyes of the Catholics; and in truth

truth he had ſome need of it, for the ſcandal of ſacking of Rome. Secondly, to engage the pontiff to oppoſe the arms of religion to the ſcandal that was like to fall upon his aunt at London, by making void her marriage, and baſtardizing his couſin Mary, that very Mary, to whom he ought to have been married; and thirdly, becauſe the French were not rooted out of Italy, when this treaty was concluded.

The emperor gives Ravenna, Servia, Modena, and Reggio to pope Clement VII. leaving him at liberty to purſue his pretenſions on Ferrara. He promiſes him alſo, to give Tuſcany to Alexander de Medicis. The treaty, ſo advantageous to the pope, was ratified at Barcelona.

Immediately after, he agrees to terms with Francis I. who purchaſes his children for 2,000,000 of golden crowns, paid down, and 500,000 crowns to be given by Francis to Henry VIII. being the ſum forfeited by Charles V. for not marrying his couſin Mary.

Francis had certainly nothing to ſay to Charles the Vth's debts; but he was conquered, and his children ought to be redeemed: 2,500,000 golden crowns certainly impoveriſhed France, but was not equal to the value of Burgundy, which remained to the king; beſides, it was ſo contrived with the king of England, that the forfeit was never paid.

France, then impoveriſhed, appears no longer formidable; Italy waits the orders of the emperor; the Venetians temporize, while Germany fears the Turks, and wrangles about religion.

Ferdinand aſſembles a diet at Spire, where Lutherans take the name of Proteſtants from the proteſting of Saxony, Heſſia, Lunenburg, Anhalt, and fourteen imperial towns, againſt the edict of Ferdinand, and appeal to a future council.

Ferdinand leaves the proteſtants to believe and act as they pleaſe: he did well. Solyman, who had no religious diſputes to appeaſe, ſtill intends the crown of Hungary for John Zapoli, Vaivode of Tranſilvania, an oppoſer of Ferdinand, and this kingdom was to have become tributary to the Turks.

Solyman

Solyman ſubdues Hungary, enters Auſtria, takes Altemburg by aſſault, beſieges Vienna on the 26th of September; but Vienna is always the ſtumbling block of the Turks. It is the fortune of the houſe of Bavaria, to defend Auſtria in theſe perils. Philip the Warlike, brother to the elector Palatine, the laſt elector of the eldeſt Palatine branch, defends Vienna. Solyman raiſes the ſiege in 30 days; but remains maſter of Hungary, and gives the inveſtiture of it to John Zapoli.

Charles at laſt quits Spain, and arrives at Genoa, which, no longer French, attends her fate from him. He declares Genoa free, and a fief of the empire. He goes from town to town in triumph, during the time that the Turks beſiege Vienna. Pope Clement VII. waits for him at Bologna, whither Charles at length comes to receive on his knees, the benediction of him, whom he had held captive, whoſe dominions he had deſolated. After having been at the pope's feet as a catholic, he receives, as an emperor, Francis Sforza, who throws himſelf at his feet, and aſks his pardon. He gives him the inveſtiture of the Milaneſe for 100,000 golden ducats paid down, and 500,000 payable in ten years. He gives him his niece, the daughter of the tyrant Chriſtiern in marriage; after which he himſelf is crowned by the pope at Bologna. Like Frederic III. he receives from him three crowns, the one of Germany, the other of Lombardy, and the third of the Empire. The pope, in giving him the ſceptre, addreſſes him thus: "Emperor, our ſon, take this ſceptre, to reign over the people of the empire, over whom we and the electors judge you worthy to command." In giving him the globe, he ſays to him; "This globe repreſents the world, which you ought to govern with virtue, religion, and conſtancy." The ceremony of the globe recals to mind the image of the ancient Roman empire, maſter of the beſt part of the known world, and in ſome meaſure belonging to Charles V. ſovereign of Spain, Italy, Germany, and America.

Charles kiſſes the pope's feet in the time of maſs, but he had no mule to lead. The emperor and pope eat in the ſame ſtate, each at a table by himſelf.

He

He promiſes to the pope's nephew Alexander de Medicis, his baſtard Margaretta, with Tuſcany as a portion.

By theſe regulations and conceſſions it is evident, that Charles V. did not aſpire at being king of the Chriſtian continent as Charlemagne had been. He only aimed at being the principal perſonage, at having the chief influence there, and preſerving his right of ſovereignty over Italy. Had he intended to have engroſſed all to himſelf, he had drained Spain of men and money, to have eſtabliſhed himſelf at Rome, and governed Lombardy as one of his provinces. But this does not do; for the more he had ingroſſed, the more he had to fear.

The Tuſcans, ſeeing their liberty ſacrificed by the union between the emperor and the pope,
1530. have the courage to defend themſelves againſt both; but this courage is uſeleſs, oppoſed to ſtrength. Florence, beſieged, ſurrenders upon condition.

Alexander de Medicis is received as their ſovereign, and acknowledges himſelf a vaſſal of the empire.

Charles V. diſpoſes of principalities like a judge and a maſter. He gives up Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara, in ſpite of the prayers of the pope. He erects Mantua into a duchy. It was at this æra he gave Malta to the knights of St. John, who had loſt Rhodes. The donation bears date the 24th of March. He makes them this preſent as king of Spain, and not as emperor. He avenges himſelf as much as poſſible upon the Turks, by oppoſing to them this bulwark, which they could never deſtroy.

After having thus diſpoſed of territories, he goes to endeavour to give peace to Germany; but it is much harder to ſettle the quarrels of religion, than the intereſts of princes.

The confeſſion of Augſburg was made about this time, which ſerves as a rule to the proteſtants and a rallying of their party. This diet of Augſburg began the 20th of June. On the 26th the proteſtants preſent their confeſſion of faith in Latin and German.

Straſburg,

Straſburg, Meninguen, Lindau, and Conſtance, there preſent their act of Separation, and call it, The confeſſion of the four towns. They were Lutherans like the reſt, and differed but in few points.

Zuinglius alſo ſends thither his confeſſion, altho' neither he nor the canton of Berne were either Lutherans or Imperialiſts.

Diſputes run high. On the 22d of September, the emperor publiſhes a decree, injoining the proteſtants to deſiſt from farther innovations, to leave full liberty to the catholic religion in their different territories, and to prepare a preſentation of their griefs, for a council to be convoked in ſix months.

The four towns form an alliance with the three cantons of Berne, Zurich and Baſil, whereby they are to be furniſhed with troops, ſhould any encroachments be made upon their liberty.

The diet makes out the proceſs of the grand maſter of the Teutonic order; Albert of Brandenburg, who, as we have ſeen, had become a Lutheran, poſſeſſed himſelf of ducal Pruſſia, and chaſed out the catholic knights. He is put under the ban of the empire, but is nevertheleſs maſter of Pruſſia.

The diet fixes the imperial chamber in the town of Spire. It is by this, that it is finiſhed; and the emperor appoints another at Cologne, in order to have his brother Ferdinand there elected king of the Romans.

Ferdinand is choſen on the 5th of January by all the electors, except John the Conſtant, of Saxony, who fruitleſsly oppoſes him.

The proteſtant princes at that time, and the deputies of the Lutheran towns unite themſelves at Smalcalde, a town of Heſſia. The league for their genēral defence, is ſigned in the month of March. Their zeal for their religion, and fear of ſeeing the empire, which was elective, become an hereditary monarchy, were the motives of this league between John duke of Saxony, Philip landgrave of Heſſe, the duke of Wirtemburg, the prince of Anhalt, the count of Mansfield, and the towns of their communion.

Francis I. who cauſed the Lutherans in his own dominions to be burnt, promiſes to aſſiſt thoſe of
1531. Germany. The emperor then negotiates with them; the Anabaptiſts only are proſecuted, who had ſettled in Moravia. Their new apoſtle, Hutter, who travelled about making proſelytes, is taken at Tirol, and burned at Inſpruck.

This Hutter preached neither ſedition nor ſlaughter, as moſt of his predeceſſors had done. He was a man infatuated with the ſimplicity of the primitive times, and would not allow even his own diſciples to carry arms. He preached up reformation and equality, and therefore they burned him.

Philip, landgrave of Heſſe, a prince worthy of greater power and better fortune, is the firſt who undertakes to re-unite the ſects that are ſeparated from the Roman communion. A project which has been ſince vainly attempted, and would have ſaved much blood to Europe. Martin Bucer was charged, in the name of the Sacramentarians, to reconcile them to the Lutherans. But Luther and Melancthon were inflexible, and in that ſhew themſelves more obſtinate than cunning. The princes and the towns have in view the two objects, their religion, and the reduction of the imperial power to narrower bounds. Had it not been for this laſt article, there had been no civil war. The Proteſtants perſiſt in refuſing to acknowledge Ferdinand for king of the Romans.

The emperor, made uneaſy by the proteſtants, and threatened by the Turks, ſtifles for ſome time
1532. the riſing troubles, by granting to the Proteſtants all they aſked in the diet held at Nuremberg in the month of June; and ſuppreſſing all proceedings againſt them, gives them intire liberty even to the holding a council; nay leaves even the rights of his brother Ferdinand undecided.

He could not have yielded more; but it was to the Turks the Lutherans owed this indulgence.

The condeſcenſion of Charles encourages the Proteſtants to manifeſt their duty. They furniſh an army againſt

againſt Solyman, and raiſe, by way of common ſubſidy, 150,000 florins for that ſervice. The pope alſo exerts himſelf, by furniſhing 6000 men and 4,000,000 crowns. Charles draws troops out of Flanders and Naples. We now ſee an army of above 100,000 men, compoſed of nations different in their language and education, yet animated with the ſame ſpirit, to march againſt the common enemy. The count Palatine, Philip, deſtroys a body of Turks who had advanced as far as Gratz in Stiria. The flower of Solyman's numerous army is cut off, and he is obliged to retreat to Conſtantinople. Solyman, in ſpite of his great reputation, conducts this campaign with little judgment. He had in truth taken many wrong ſteps, bringing with him near 200,000 ſlaves. This was waging war like a Tartar, and not like an experienced commander.

The emperor and his brother, after the departure of the Turks, diſband their army; the greater part of which was auxiliary, and collected only for the preſent danger. But few troops remained under imperial enſigns. At that time every thing was done of a ſudden. There was no eſtabliſhed fund for the maintenance of an army any long time, and very few deſigns were long followed. Seizing an opportunity was every thing. Charles V. then made war in perſon, which others had ſo long made for him; for, till that time, he had ſeen none but the ſiege of the little town of Mouzon, in 1521, ever ſince which having met nothing but good fortune, he had now inclined to partake of the glory.

He returns into Spain by way of Italy, leaving to his brother the king of the Romans, the care of governing the Proteſtants. 1533.

He is no ſooner in Spain, than his aunt Catharine of Arragon is repudiated by the king of England, and her marriage annulled by Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury. Clement VII. could no longer excuſe himſelf from excommunicating Henry VIII.

The Milaneſe were ſtill neareſt the heart of Francis I. This prince ſeeing Charles peaceably inclined, but few troops in Lombardy, and Francis Sforza without children, endeavours to draw off the latter from the em-

peror's intereſt. He ſends him ſecretly a miniſter named Maraviglia, born in the Milaneſe, with orders not to aſſume any character, although he gave him credential letters.

The ſubject of this man's commiſſion is ſeen into. Sforza, to clear himſelf with the emperor, quarrels with Maraviglia; a man is killed in the fray, and Sforza orders the miniſter's head to be ſtruck off, nor is the king of France able to revenge it.

All that he can do, is to ſecretly aſſiſt Ulric duke of Wirtemburg, to re-enter his duchy, and ſhake off the yoke of the houſe of Auſtria. This prince, being a Proteſtant, expected his re-eſtabliſhment from the league of Smalcalde, and the king of France's aſſiſtance.

The princes of the league had ſufficient authority in the diet of Nuremburg to have it determined, that Ferdinand king of the Romans ſhould ſurrender the duchy of Wirtemburg of which he was poſſeſſed. The diet in this acted conformable to the laws. The duke had a ſon, who certainly ought not to be puniſhed for the faults of his father. Ulric had not been guilty of treaſon againſt the empire, conſequently his iſſue ought not to be deprived of his poſſeſſions.

Ferdinand promiſes to conform to the decree of the empire, but neglects it. Philip, landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, ſurnamed very juſtly, the Magnanimous, takes the part of the duke of Wirtemburg: he goes to France; borrows of the king 100,000 golden crowns; raiſes an army of 15,000 men, and reſtores Wirtemburg to its maſter.

Ferdinand ſends troops thither under the command of the very count Palatine, Philip the Warlike, who had beaten the Turks.

Philip the Magnanimous of Heſſe beats Philip the Warlike. Then the king of the Romans
1534. ſubmits to a compoſition.

Duke Ulric was re-eſtabliſhed, but the duchy of Wirtemburg declared a maſculine fief of the arch-duchy of Auſtria; and as ſuch ought to revert, in caſe of the failure of male iſſue, to the arch-ducal houſe.

In

In this year Henry VIII. ſeparates himſelf from the Roman communion, and declares himſelf head of the Engliſh church. This revolution was made without the leaſt trouble. In Germany it was very different. There religion cauſed much bloodſhed, particularly in Weſtphalia.

The Sacramentarians at length beoame the moſt powerful in Munſter, and drive out biſhop Waldec. The Anabaptiſts ſucceed to the Sacramentarians, and poſſeſs themſelves of the town. This ſect ſpreads itſelf in Friezeland and Holland. A taylor of Leyden, named John, goes to the ſuccour of his brethren with a troop of prophets and aſſaſſins. He cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king, and ſolemnly crowned at Munſter, on the 24th of June.

Biſhop Waldec beſieges the town, aſſiſted by the troops of Cologne and Cleves. The Anabaptiſts compare their enemy to Holofernes, and believe themſelves the people of God. A woman, willing to imitate Judith, goes out of the town with the ſame intention; but, inſtead of returning to her Bethulia, with the biſhop's head, ſhe is hanged in the camp.

Charles, at that time in Spain, meddled but little in the affairs of the Germanic body, which to him was a continual ſource of uneaſineſs, 1535. without the leaſt advantage. He ſeeks for glory in another quarter. Not ſtrong enough in Germany to carry on a war againſt Solyman, he intends revenging himſelf on the Turks by turning his arms againſt the famous admiral Cheredin, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of Tunis, after having driven out the king Muley-Huſſein. The dethroned African came to offer himſelf as a tributary to Charles, who paſſed over into Africa in the month of April, with about 25,000 men, 200 tranſports, and 115 gallies. Pope Paul III. granted him a tenth, which was pretty conſiderable, of all the eccleſiaſtical revenues in the Auſtrian territories. He joined nine gallies to the Spaniſh fleet. Charles goes to attack the army of Cheredin in perſon, which was ſuperior to his in number, but very ill diſciplined.

Hiſtorians report that Charles, before the battle, expreſſed himſelf thus to his generals: "Tho' ſtraw may ripen medlars, our tardineſs rather rots than ripens the courage of our ſoldiers." Princes ſeldom expreſs themſelves thus: they ought to be made to ſpeak nobly, or rather no words ought to be put into their mouths which they never ſaid; almoſt all their harangues are fictions cooked up in hiſtory.

Charles gains a complete victory, and re-eſtabliſhes Muley-Huſſein, who gives up to him the fortreſs of Gouletta, with an extent of country for ten miles round, declaring himſelf and his ſucceſſors vaſſals to the kings of Spain; ſubmitting to pay, as a tribute, 20,000 crowns a year.

Charles returns a conqueror to Sicily and Naples, bringing with him all the Chriſtian ſlaves whom he had ſet at liberty; beſtowing liberally among them wherewith to carry them to their reſpective homes. Theſe were ſo many mouths who every where publiſhed his praiſes. Never did he enjoy before ſo fine a triumph.

In this zenith of glory, having repulſed Solyman, given a king to Tunis, and obliged Francis I. to abandon Italy, he preſſes Paul III. to call a council. The afflictions of the Roman church daily increaſe.

Calvin began to rule in Geneva; the ſect to which he had the credit of giving his name, ſpread itſelf in France, and was to be feared by the Roman church, who ſcarcely retained more than the territory of the houſe of Auſtria and Poland.

In the mean time Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, dies without children; Charles V. ſeizes upon that duchy, as a fief devolving to him. His power and his riches increaſe. His will is a law in Italy, where he is more maſter than in Germany.

At Naples he celebrates the marriage of his natural daughter Margaret with Alexander de Medicis, the created duke of Tuſcany, in the moſt brilliant manner, whereby he increaſes the affection of the people.

Francis

Francis I. did not loſe ſight of the Milaneſe, that ſepulchre of the French. He demands the inveſtiture of it at leaſt for his ſecond ſon Henry. The emperor gives him but empty words. He might have refuſed him plainly. 1536.

The houſe of Savoy was no longer attached to France, whoſe ally it had a great while been. The emperor had every thing; there was ſcarcely a prince in Europe who had not ſome pretenſions at the coſt of his neighbours. The king of France had demands upon the county of Nice, and upon the marquiſate of Salluce. He ſends an army thither, which poſſeſſes itſelf of almoſt all the duke of Savoy's territories, which were not then what they are at this day.

France's real reaſon for having and keeping the Milaneſe was to command and fortify Piedmont; once miſtreſs of the Alps, ſhe had been, ſooner or later, ſovereign of Lombardy.

The duke of Savoy goes to Naples to implore the emperor's protection. This prince, altho' ſo powerful, had yet no army of conſequence in Italy. It was the cuſtom then to have them only for the preſent occaſion; but he at length engages the Venetians in his intereſts; as alſo the Swiſs, who recal their troops from the French army. He ſoon augments his forces, and goes to Rome magnificently attended. He enters it in triumph; but not as a maſter, which he might formerly have done. He takes a ſeat at the conſiſtory, below that of the pope. One is aſtoniſhed to hear a victorious Roman emperor pleading his cauſe before the pope. He pronounces a diſcourſe againſt Francis I. as Cicero had done againſt Antony. But he does what Cicero did not; propoſes fighting his antagoniſt in a duel. There was in all this a mixture of the manners of antiquity, with the ſpirit of knight-errantry. After having ſpoken of duelling, he mentions the council. Pope Paul III. publiſhed the bull of convocation.

The king of France had ſent troops ſufficient to poſſeſs themſelves of the duke of Savoy's territories, then left almoſt defenceleſs; but this army was not ſufficiently formidable to reſiſt one ſoon after led by the empe-

ror, compoſed of a number of brave fellows, tutored by victories in Italy, Hungary, Flanders, and Africa.

Charles retakes all Piedmont, Turin excepted. He enters Provence with an army of 50,000 men, while his fleet hovers upon the coaſt, conſiſting of 140 veſſels, commanded by Doria. All Provence, excluſive of Marſeilles, is ſubdued and ravaged. He could at that time have revived the ancient rights of the empire upon Provence, Dauphiny, and the old kingdom of Arles.

He, on the other hand, preſſes France in Picardy with an army of Germans, which, under count de Reux, take Guiſe, and proceed ſtill farther.

In the midſt of theſe diſaſters, Francis the Dauphin, ſon of Francis I. dies of a pleuriſy at Lions. Twenty authors have affirmed, that the emperor cauſed him to be poiſoned. No calumny can be more abſurd, or more contemptible. What had the emperor to fear from a young prince who had never oppoſed him? What could he gain by his death? Of what mean, and of what ſhameful crime has he been guilty, to lay him under ſuch a ſuſpicion? They pretend, there was poiſon found in the box of Montecuculi, a domeſtic of the Dauphin's, brought into France by Catharine de Medicis.

Montecuculi was quartered, becauſe poiſon was found in his poſſeſſion, and that the Dauphin was dead.

The queſtion was put to him, whether he had ever converſed with the emperor? He anſwered, that having been once preſented to him by Antonio de Leva, that prince had aſked him, what order the king of France obſerved in his meals. Was this a reaſon ſtrong enough to throw the ſuſpicion of ſo abominable and uſeleſs a crime upon Charles V.

The invaſion of Provence is fatal to the French, without being ſerviceable to the emperor, out of whoſe power it is to take Marſeilles. Great part of his army is deſtroyed by ſickneſs. He returns to Genoa on board his fleet. His other army is obliged to evacuate Picardy. France, tho' on the brink of ruin, ſtill holds out. That which had loſt Naples to Francis I. loſes Provence

vence to Charles V. Enterpriſes ſo very diſtant from one another, ſeldom ſucceed.

The emperor returns to Spain, leaving Italy ſubdued, France weakened, and Germany ſtill in trouble.

The Anabaptiſts continue their depredations in Friezeland, Holland, and Weſtphalia, which they call "Fighting the Lord's battles." They go to ſuccour their prophet king John of Leyden, and are defeated by George Schenk, governor of Friezeland. The town of Munſter is taken John of Leyden and his principal accomplices are ſhewn about in a cage, and afterwards torn with red hot pincers. The Lutheran party increaſe their ſtrength; animoſities alſo increaſe. The league of Smalcald does not as yet produce a civil war.

Charles is not at eaſe in Spain. There is a neceſſity to ſupport the war which Francis I. had inconſiderately begun, and ſtill continued to wage againſt the emperor. 1537.

The parliament of Paris ſummon the emperor, declare him a rebellious vaſſal, and deprive him of the counties of Flanders, the Artois, and the Charolois. This edict ſurely was good, after his having conquered thoſe provinces. The imperial troops, in ſpite of it, advance into Picardy. Francis I. goes in perſon to beſiege Heſdin in the Artois; but is obliged to quit it. There are ſeveral trivial engagements fought, but the ſucceſs of them undeciſive.

Francis I. reſolves to make a great ſtroke, and hazards Chriſtianity to revenge himſelf on the emperor. He engaged with Solyman that he would invade the Milaneſe, with a powerful army, at the ſame time that the Turks ſhould make a deſcent upon the kingdom of Naples and upon Auſtria.

Solyman keeps his word; but Francis is too weak to be true to his. The famous Captain Pacha Cheredin makes a deſcent, with part of his gallies, upon Apulia; alſo near Otranto. He ravages the country, and carries off 16,000 Chriſtian ſlaves. This is that Cheredin, viceroy of Algiers, whom authors call Barbaroſſa. This nick-name had been given to his brother, who died

in the year 1519, after having made ſome conqueſts on the coaſt of Barbary.

Solyman advances into Hungary. Ferdinand king of the Romans comes up with the Turks, between Buda and Belgrade A bloody battle enſues, in which Ferdinand is put to flight, with the loſs of 24,000 men. One would have imagined Italy and Auſtria were in the hands of the Ottomans, and Francis I. maſter of Lombardy; but this is not the caſe. Barbaroſſa, not finding Francis I. appear to aſſiſt him in the Milaneſe, retreats with his booty and his ſlaves to Conſtantinople. Auſtria is left in ſecurity. The emperor had withdrawn his troops from the Artois and Picardy. His two ſiſters, the one Mary of Hungary, governeſs of the Low-Countries, the other Eleonora of Portugal, wife of Francis I. having managed a treaty upon the frontiers, the emperor conſents to it, that he may have freſh troops wherewith to oppoſe the Turks, and Francis I. is left at liberty to paſs into Italy.

The Dauphin Henry was already in Piedmont, where the French were maſters of almoſt all the towns, ſome few excepted, which were defended by the marquis del Vaſto, whom the French call Duguaſt. A treaty is then concluded for ſome months in this country. This was not making war ſeriouſly, after projects of ſo great and ſo dangerous a nature. He who loſt moſt by this peace was the duke of Savoy, plundered both by friends and enemies; for both Imperialiſts and French keep ſtill the poſſeſſion of moſt of his towns.

The treaty between Charles V. and Francis I. is pro-
1538. longed at the expence of the duke of Savoy for ten years.

Solyman is angry that his ally don't purſue his victory. All things are done by halves in this war.

Charles, having paſt into Italy to conclude the treaty, marries his baſtard daughter, widow of Alexander de Medicis, to Octavio Farneſe, grand-ſon to a baſtard of Paul the third duke of Parma, Placentia, and Caſtro. Theſe duchies had been formerly the inheritance of the counteſs Mathilda; ſhe had given them to the church, and not to the pope's baſtards. They have ſince been annexed

annexed to the duchy of Milan. Pope Julius II. joined them to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, whence they were detached by Paul III. who gave them to his ſon. The emperor might very juſtly have claimed the ſovereignty of them; but he rather choſe to favour the pope than quarrel with him.

After all theſe great preparations for defence, Francis I. retires from the frontiers of Piedmont, Charles V. takes the road of Spain, and meets Francis I. at Aguemortes, with as much familiarity as if this prince had never been his priſoner, as if he had never given him the lye, as if he had never challenged him to ſingle combat, as if the king of France had not brought the Turks into the empire; and as if he had not ſuffered Charles V. to be treated as a priſoner.

Charles V. is informed in Spain, that Ghent, the place in which he was born, is upon the brink of revolting, in defence of its privileges. All the towns of the Low-countries have certain rights; no aſſiſtance was ever obtained in this flouriſhing country by arbitrary impoſition. The ſtates always furniſhed their ſovereign, when it ſeemed needful, with a free gift, and the town of Ghent, from time immemorial, had enjoyed the prerogative of naming her own contribution. The ſtates of Flanders having granted 120,000 florins, to the governeſs of the Low-countries, appoint 400,000 to be raiſed upon the people of Ghent, who oppoſe this encroachment, and refer to their privileges. The governeſs cauſes the principal citizens to be arreſted; an inſurrection enſues; the inhabitants take up arms: it was one of the richeſt and largeſt cities in Europe. They offer to give themſelves up to the king of France, as to their ſovereign; but he makes a merit of refuſing their propoſal; ſtill flattering himſelf with hopes of obtaining from the emperor the inveſtiture of Milan for one of his ſons. And what enſues? He obtains neither Ghent nor Milan. 1539.

The emperor then demands a paſſage for himſelf thro' France, that he may puniſh the rebels of Ghent. The Dauphin and the duke of Orleans receive him at Bayon. Francis I. goes before him to Chateblerant. Charles V.

V. enters Paris on the firſt of January. The parliament and all the public bodies meet and compliment him without the walls of the town. They carry to him their keys. Priſoners are in his name ſet at liberty. He preſides in parliament, and makes a knight. This act of authority in Sigiſmund was found fault with, in Charles V. it was approved. To create a knight at that time was only declaring a man noble, to which nobility was adjoined an honourable and uſeleſs title.

Knighthood had been in great eſteem in Europe; but it had never been more than a name given inſenſibly to Lords of fiefs, diſtinguiſhed for their military atchievements. By little and little theſe lords of fiefs had erected knighthood into a ſort of imaginary order, compoſed of religious ceremonies of virtue and debauchery. But this title of knight was never part of the conſtitution of a ſtate; they never acknowledged any but feudal laws. A lord of a fief, when a knight, might be more reſpected than another in ſome caſtles, but it was not upon the footing of a knight that he entered the diets of the empire, the ſtates of France, the cortes of Spain, or the parliament of England, but upon the footing of a baron, earl, a marquis, or a duke. The lords bannerets in the armies were called knights, but it was not in quality of knights that they had banners, no more than that they had caſtles and territories in quality of Worthies; but they only called them Worthy, becauſe they were ſuppoſed to have done ſome worthy action.

In the main, that which is called knighthood belongs rather to romance than hiſtory. It was little more than an honourable mummery. Charles V. ought not to have created a bailiff of a town in France; becauſe that is a real employment. He conferred the vain title of knight, and, in effect. the real part of this ceremony was his declaring a man to be noble who was not ſo. This nobility was acknowledged in France only by curteſy, out of reſpect to the emperor. But what is moſt likely is, that Charles V. by this procedure, would have inſinuated a belief of the emperor's right to confer this title in every dominion. Sigiſmund had made one knight in France, Charles would therefore make another;

ther; nor could this prerogative be refuſed to an emperor to whom they had granted that of ſetting priſoners at liberty.

Thoſe who have imagined that the detaining Charles priſoner was a ſubject of debate, ſpeak without any proof *. Francis I. would have been guilty of the greateſt infamy, if thro' a mean treachery, he had detained him priſoner, whoſe captive he had been by force of arms. There are ſome ſtate crimes which have the ſanction of cuſtom; there are others which no cuſtom can authorize, and which the chivalry of thoſe times would have diſcountenanced. It is ſaid that the king only exacted from him a promiſe of conferring the Milaneſe on the duke of Orleans, brother to the Dauphin Henry, and that he ſatisfied himſelf with his bare word. Here he piqued himſelf more upon his generoſity than his cunning.

Charles enters Ghent at the head of 2000 horſe and 6000 foot, which he brought with him. The people of Ghent might have raiſed 80,000 armed men, yet they give him no oppoſition.

On the 12th of May the privileges of Ghent were taken from it, twenty-four of the principal citizens were hanged, the citadel razed to the ground, and the citizens condemned to advance, towards the rebuilding it, 300,000 ducats, and to furniſh 9000 ducats yearly for the ſupport of the garriſon. There is ſeldom a better uſe made of law in the hands of the ſtrong. When the blood of the miniſters of Mary of Burgundy had been here ſhed before her eyes, the town eſcaped without puniſhment, while for ſupporting its real rights it was almoſt ruined. 1540.

Francis I. ſends his wife Eleonora to Bruſſels to ſolicit the inveſtiture of Milan; to facilitate which he not only recounces his alliance with the Turks, but enters into an offenſive one with the pope againſt them. It was

* Thuanus ſays, the conſtable Montmorency diſſuaded Francis from taking any diſhonourable advantage of his gueſt; certain it is, the conſtable was ſoon after diſgraced, being ſuſpected of carrying on a correſpondence with the emperor.

was the emperor's deſign to make him loſe his ally, and yet not to give him Milan.

The Lutheran religion, and the league of Smalcald, acquire new ſtrength in Germany, by the death of George of Saxony, the powerful ſovereign of Miſnia and Thuringia. He was a very zealous catholic, and his brother Henry, who continued the line, was a firm Lutheran. George, by his laſt will, diſinherited his brother and his nephews, in caſe they did not return to the religion of their anceſtors, and left his dominions to the houſe of Auſtria. This was quite a new caſe. No law of the empire could deprive a prince of his eſtate on account of his religion. John Frederic, elector of Saxony, and the brave landgrave of Heſſe, George's kinſman, preſerve the ſucceſſion to the natural heir, by furniſhing him with troops. Luther comes to preach among them, and the inhabitants here, as well as thoſe of Saxony and Heſſe, become Lutherans.

Lutheraniſm ſignalizes itſelf by tolerating polygamy. The wife of the landgrave, the daughter of George, indulges her huſband, whom ſhe could not pleaſe, with leave to marry again. The landgrave, being in love with Margaret de Saal, daughter of a Saxon gentleman, propoſes the queſtion to Luther, Melancthon, and Bucer, whether he could, in conſcience, have two wives? and whether the law of nature could, in this point, be reconciled to the Chriſtian law? The three apoſtles, extremely confounded, give him, privately, their permiſſion in writing. All huſbands might be permitted to do the ſame; for, in a caſe of conſcience, a landgrave cannot be allowed greater liberties than another man. But this example was not followed. The difficulties enſuing from keeping two wives, exceeds, greatly, the diſguſt ariſing from having only one.

The emperor does his beſt endeavours to over-turn the league of Smalcald; and is able only to divide from it Albert of Brandenburg, ſurnamed Alcides. Several conferences are held between the Proteſtants and Catholics, the common conſequence of all which is their being unable to agree.

On

On the 18th of July the emperor publiſhes, at Ratiſbon, an Interim, an Inhalt, ſo it is commonly called, or an edict, whereby every perſon is left to his own belief without moleſtation. 1541.

This edict was neceſſary now, when armies were to be levied againſt the Turks. We have before remarked, that numerous armies were only levied upon points of exigency. Solyman had been conſidered as the protector of John Zapoli, who had always been competitor for the crown of Hungary with Ferdinand. This protection gave a pretext to the Turkiſh invaſion; for John being dead, Solyman remained in the place of tutor to his ſon.

The imperial army beſieges the young pupil of Solyman in Buda; but the Turks come to his aſſiſtance, and give the Chriſtians an irrecoverable overthrow.

The Sultan, at length, weary of fighting and conquering ſo often for Chriſtians, ſeizes on Hungary as the reward of his victories, and leaves Tranſylvania to the young prince, who, according to his doctrine, could have no hereditary right to an elective kingdom as Hungary was.

Ferdinand, king of the Romans, then offers to become tributary to Solyman, provided he will give him that kingdom, and is anſwered by the Sultan, that he muſt renounce all claim to Hungary, and beſides do him homage for Auſtria.

Whilſt things were in this ſituation, and the Turkiſh army diminiſhed by the plague, Solyman returns to Conſtantinople; and Charles paſſes over into Italy. Inſtead of projecting the reſcue of Hungary from the Turks, he prepares for an attack upon Algiers. This was being more attentive to the glory of Spain than that of the empire. Maſter of Tunis and Algiers, all Barbary would have been ſubjected to the Spaniſh yoke; whi e Germany was to defend itſelf againſt the Turks as well as it could. He lands on the coaſt of Algiers on the 23d of October, with almoſt as many people as attended him at the ſiege of Tunis. But a violent ſtorm having ſunk fifteen of his gallies, eighty-ſix of his veſſels, and

and his troops having been annoyed on land by the Moors, and ſtorms in conjunction, Charles is forced to re-embark on board the remainder of his ſhips, and arrives at Carthagena in November, with the ruins of his fleet and army. His reputation ſuffers conſiderably. He is blamed for his raſhneſs in this undertaking; yet, had he ſucceeded, he had been ſtill the avenger of Europe. The famous Hernan Cortez, the conqueror of ſo many American nations, ſerved as a volunteer in this expedition againſt Algiers. Here he ſaw the difference between a ſmall number of men, who know how to defend themſelves, and multitudes who permit themſelves to be overcome *.

Why Solyman remained inactive after his conqueſts is inconceivable; but it is eaſy to ſee why Germany permitted it. Becauſe the Catholic unite againſt the Proteſtant princes; it is becauſe the league of Smalcald makes war againſt the duke of Brunſwick, a Catholic, drives him out of his dominions, and ſets at ranſom all the eccleſiaſtics. It is, in fine, becauſe the king of France, tired with the refuſal of the inveſtiture of the Milaneſe, prepares ſtrong alliances and potent armies againſt the emperor.

Charles the fifth's life and empire were but one continual tempeſt. The Sultan, the pope, Venice, one half of Germany and France, were one or other of them almoſt always againſt him; and ſometimes all together. England was at one time a ſecond, at another an adverſary. No emperor was ever more feared; yet leſs to be feared.

Francis

* Hernan Cortez had been uſed to fight againſt people who did not ſubmit until they had made not barely a gallant, but even a deſperate, defence; witneſs the reduction of Mexico, which was not ſurrendered until great part of the city was filled with the dead bodies of its inhabitants; until the ſurvivors were oppreſſed by famine, and had ſeen their king taken priſoner on the lake. The Moors in Barbary had never made ſuch efforts for the preſervation of their independence.

It was not the army of the Moors which obliged Charles to raiſe the ſiege of Algiers; but the tempeſtuous weather, by which he loſt one hundred ſhips, and fifteen gallies: and the diſeaſes of an unhealthy climate, by which his forces were reduced from twenty-four to ten thouſand men.

Francis I. ſends an ambaſſador to Conſtantinople * and another to Venice, at one and the ſame time. He who was ſent to Solyman was a native of Navarre, called Rinçone; the other Fregoſe, a Genoeſe. Both were aſſaſſinated on the Po, by the governor of Milan's order.

This murder was perfectly like that of colonel St. Clair, aſſaſſinated in our time, as he returned from Conſtantinople to Sweden: theſe two events were either cauſes of, or pretexts for, a very bloody war. Charles V. diſavows the aſſaſſinations of the two ambaſſadors of the king of France In truth, he looked on them as men born his ſubjects, and become infidels. But it is much better proved that man is born with a natural right to chooſe his own party, than it can poſſibly be, that a prince has any right to aſſaſſinate his ſubjects. If this is one of the prerogatives of royalty, it is very dreadful for it. Charles, in diſavowing the action committed in his name, owned it, in effect, to be a moſt ſhameful crime.

Politics and revenge equally ſpur the armaments of Francis I.

He ſends the Dauphin into Rouſſillon with an army of 30,000 men, and his other ſon, the duke of Orleans, with the like number, into Luxemburg.

The duke of Cleves, heir to the duchy of Guelders, invaded by Charles V. was with count Mansfeld in the duke of Orleans's army.

The king of France has ſtill another army in Piedmont. The emperor is aſtoniſhed to find France, which he had ſo often oppreſſed, ſtill miſtreſs of ſuch force, and ſo many reſources. War is waged equally between them, without any advantageous deciſion for either one party or the other. The council of Trent aſſemble during this war. The imperialiſts arrive there on the 28th of January. The proteſtants refuſe to attend, and the council is ſuſpended.

On

* When Charles reproached Francis for having entered into an alliance with the Turks, he replied, "that when he was attacked by wolves, it was excuſable to call in dogs to his aſſiſtance."

On the 26th of Auguſt is completed at Nuremberg that tranſaction of the duke of Lorrain with
1543. the Germanic body, whereby his duchy is acknowledged an independent ſovereignty, and exempt from the charge of paying to the Imperial Chamber two-thirds of the tax of an elector.

In the mean time, there is publiſhed a new league againſt Francis I. between Charles V. and Henry VIII. Thus do princes quarrel, and thus do they re-unite. That very Henry VIII. whoſe excommunication Charles had procured, for having repudiated his aunt, allies himſelf to him who was thought to be his irreconcileable enemy. Charles at length attacks Guelderland, and poſſeſſes himſelf of all that country belonging to the duke of Cleves, ally to Francis I. The duke of Cleves aſks him pardon upon his knees. The emperor makes him renounce the ſovereignty of the duchy of Gueldres, and gives him the inveſtiture of Cleves and of Juliers.

He takes Cambray, about which, although a free town, the empire and France had wrangled. No ſooner had Charles V. leagued with the king of England to bear down France, but Francis I. calls the Turk to his aſſiſtance a ſecond time. Cheredin, their admiral, comes with gallies to Marſeilles. He goes to the ſiege of Nice with the count d'Enguien: he takes that town; but the caſtle is ſuccoured by the Imperialiſts, and Cheredin withdraws to Toulon. This deſcent of the Turks was not very memorable, becauſe they had been armed in the name of the moſt Chriſtian king.

At the ſame time that Charles V. makes war againſt France and Picardy in Piedmont, and in Rouſſillon; while he treats with the pope and the Proteſtants; while he preſſes Germany to ſecure him from the Turkiſh invaſions; he wages war againſt the king of Denmark.

Chriſtiern II. kept in priſon by thoſe who had been formerly his ſubjects, had made Charles V. heir to his three kingdoms, which he no longer poſſeſſed, and which were elective. Guſtavus Vaſa reigns peaceably in Sweden. The duke of Holſtein had been elected king of Denmark in 1536. It was this king of Denmark, by name Chriſtiern III. who attacked the emperor in Holland

land with a fleet of forty ſhips; but a peace is ſoon clapped up. This Chriſtiern III. renews with his two brothers, John and Adolphus, the ancient treaty, relating to the duchies of Holſtein and of Schleſwick. John and Adolphus, and their deſcendents, were to poſſeſs theſe duchies in common with the kings of Denmark.

Charles aſſembles, at that time, a great diet at Spire, at which Ferdinand his brother, and all the electors and princes, as well Catholic as Proteſtant, are preſent. Charles V. and Ferdinand there demand ſuccour againſt the Turks and againſt the king of France. There they gave Francis I. the names of Benegad, Barbarian, and the Enemy of God. The king of France intends to ſend ambaſſadors to this great diet. He diſpatches a herald to procure him a paſſport, and they put his herald in priſon.

The diet grant him ſubſidies and troops; but theſe only for ſix months. They conſiſt of but 4000 horſe and 20,000 foot: but a feeble aſſiſtance for a prince who had no great hereditary dominions.

The emperor cannot obtain this ſuccour without doing much in favour of the Lutherans. He gains an important point, by obtaining in this diet, that the Imperial Chamber of Spire ſhall be made up of one half Lutherans, and the other half Catholics; of which the pope loudly, but vainly, complains *. The

* Father Barre, author of a large hiſtory of Germany, puts theſe words into the mouth of Charles V. "The pope is happy in that the princes of the league of Smalcald did not propoſe my becoming a Proteſtant. In that caſe, I know not what I ſhould have done." It is well known, that this was the emperor Joſeph's anſwer to Clement XI. when he complained of his condeſcenſions to Charles XII. Father Barre is not ſatisfied with imputing to Charles V. this diſcourſe, which he never held; but he has alſo inſerted in his book a great number of facts and diſcourſes, taken word for word from the hiſtory of Charles XII. He has copied above one hundred pages. It is not impoſſible that they may have ſaid and acted in the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, exactly as in the 18th; but it is not at all likely. There was a neceſſity for making this note; becauſe journaliſts having perhaps ſeen, in the hiſtory of Charles XII. and that of Germany, ſo many accounts abſolutely alike, might have accuſed the writer of Charles the XIIth's life of plagiariſm; never conſidering that the latter hiſtorian had written twenty years before the former.

The old admiral Barbaroſſa, who had paſſed the winter at Toulon and Marſeilles, again cruizes on the coaſt of Italy, and carries off his gallies, loaden with plunder and ſlaves, to Conſtantinople, where he finiſhed a career that had been a long time fatal to Chriſtianity.

The king of France gathered a leſs odious and more honourable ſucceſs from the battle of Ceriſoles, which count d'Enguien gained in Piedmont over the marquis Del Vaſto, a famous general of the emperor, on the 11th of April; yet this victory could not open a paſſage to the French in the Milaneſe, while the emperor penetrates to Soiſſons, and menaces Paris.

Henry VIII. is, for his part, in Picardy. Notwithſtanding the battle of Ceriſoles, France is in more danger than ever; nevertheleſs, by one of thoſe myſteries which hiſtory can ſcarcely ever clear up, Francis I. makes an advantageous peace. To what can this be attributed, but the miſtruſts mutually entertained of each other by the kings of France and of England? This peace is concluded on the 18th of September, at Crepi. This treaty imports, that the duke of Orleans, ſecond ſon of the king of France, ſhall eſpouſe a daughter, either of the emperor or the king of the Romans; and that he ſhall have the Milaneſe, or the Low Countries. This appears to be a very extraordinary alternative. Charles, in parting with the Milaneſe, beſtows only a fief of the empire; but in giving up the Low Countries, he ſtrips his ſon of his inheritance.

As for the king of England, his conqueſts are ended at the town of Boulogne, and France is preſerved from every attempt.

The council of Trent opens in the month of April.

1545. The Proteſtants declare, that they will not acknowledge it for a council. The civil war begins. Henry duke of Brunſwick ſtripped, as we have ſeen, of his poſſeſſions by the league of Smalcald, repoſſeſſes them by the aſſiſtance of his brother the archbiſhop of Bremen, where he puts all to fire and ſword.

Philip,

Philip, the famous landgrave of Heſſe, and Maurice of Saxony, the nephew of George, reduce him to the laſt extremities. He ſurrenders to theſe princes at diſcretion, marching bare-headed, together with his ſon Victor, among the troops of the conqueror. Charles approves of, and compliments theſe dangerous victors. He keeps fair with them as yet.

As ſoon as the council meets, Paul III. with the conſent of the emperor, gives, in the moſt ſolemn manner, the inveſtiture of Parma and Placentia to his eldeſt ſon Peter Lewis Farneſe, whoſe ſon Octavius had already married the widow of Alexander de Medicis, who was Charles V's baſtard. This coronation of a pope's baſtard, made a ſtrange contraſt with the council convoked to reform the church.

The elector Palatine made uſe of that opportunity to renounce the Roman communion. Luther dies ſoon after at Eiſlaben, on the 18th of February 1545, reckoning according to the old calendar. He had had the ſatisfaction of withdrawing one half of Europe from the Roman church; and he eſteemed this glory beyond any that conqueſt can beſtow.

The death of the duke of Orleans, who was to have married the emperor's daughter, and to have had either the Low Countries or the Mi- 1546.
laneſe, removes one uneaſineſs of Charles; however, he had others that were very ſufficient: the Proteſtant princes of the league of Smalcald had effectually divided Germany into two parties. In the one, there was ſcarcely more acknowledged than the name of emperor; in the other, they did not openly diſavow his authority; but then they reſpected it as little as if it had been intirely aboliſhed among the Proteſtant princes.

Theſe princes ſhew their credit in managing the peace between the kings of France and of England. They ſend ambaſſadors to theſe two kingdoms; the peace is concluded, and Henry VIII. favours the league of Smalcald.

Lutheraniſm

Lutheraniſm had made ſuch a progreſs, that the elector of Cologne, Herman de Neuvid, although an archbiſhop, introduced it in his territories, and waited only a fair opportunity to ſecularize both himſelf and his electorate. Paul III. excommunicates and deprives him of his archbiſhopric. A pope might excommunicate whom he pleaſed; but it was not ſo eaſy for him to deprive a prince of the empire of his dominions; to that Germany muſt conſent. The pope in vain orders that they ſhould acknowledge Adolphus de Schawembourg, the archbiſhop's coadjutor, but not the elector's coadjutor. Charles V. always acknowledges the elector Herman, and threatens him, to the end that he ſhould give no aſſiſtance to the princes of the league of Smalcald; but the year following Herman is at length depoſed, and Schawembourg has his electorate.

A civil war already begins on account of Henry of Brunſwick, who is detained priſoner by the landgrave of Heſſe. Albert of Brandenburg, margrave of Culmbach, joins with John of Brunſwick, the priſoner's nephew, to deliver and avenge him. The emperor encourages, and underhand aſſiſts them.

At that time the troops of the princes and of the confederate towns take the field. Charles, no longer able to diſſemble, begins by obtaining of Paul III. about 10,000 foot and 500 light horſe, for ſix months, paying 200,000 Roman crowns, and being granted a bull for levying one half of one year's revenue belonging to the eccleſiaſtical benefices in Spain, and to alienate monaſterial poſſeſſions to the amount of 500,000 crowns. He durſt not have demanded the ſame conceſſions from the churches of Germany. The Lutherans were too near neighbours, and many churches would have rather ſecularized themſelves than have ſubmitted to pay.

The Proteſtants are already maſters of all the paſſes of the Tiroleſe, and extend themſelves thence to the Danube. The elector of Saxony, John Frederic, and Philip landgrave of Heſſe, march by the way of Franconia. Philip, a prince of the houſe of Brunſwick, and his four ſons, three princes of Anhalt, and George of Wirtemberg, uncle to duke Ulric, are all in his army.

The

The counts of Oldemburg, of Mansfield, of Oettingen, of Henneberg, of Furſtemberg, and many other princes, are ſeen at the head of their troops. The towns of Ulric, of Straſburg, of Norlinguen, and of Augſburg, ſend out their forces alſo. There are eight regiments of Swiſs Proteſtants. This army conſiſted of more than 60,000 foot and 15,000 horſe.

The emperor, who had but very few troops, nevertheleſs acts as maſter, and puts the elector of Saxony under the ban of the empire, at Ratiſbon, on the 18th of July. He has ſoon an army ſtrong enough to ſupport his edict. The 10,000 Italians ſent by the pope arrive; 6000 Spaniards, being his old regiments from the Milaneſe and from Naples, join themſelves to his Germans; but, though he ought to have three nations armed, he had not as yet an army equal to that of the league, when reinforced by the ſoldiery of the elector Palatine.

There are ſeveral ſlight ſkirmiſhes; ſeveral poſts and towns, as in all other wars, are taken and retaken.

The emperor is preſerved by a Proteſtant prince. Maurice, marquis of Miſnia and Thuringia, of the houſe of Saxony, nephew to George, and kinſman to the landgrave of Heſſe, the ſame to whom the landgrave and elector of Saxony had preſerved his dominions, and whoſe tutor the elector had been, forgets his duty to theſe his neighbours, and ſides with the emperor, who promiſes not to moleſt him in his religion of Lutheraniſm; and this aſſurance ſerves him as a pretext for his conduct to his ſubjects.

He aſſembles 10,000 foot and 3000 horſe, makes a diverſion in Saxony, defeats the elector's troops, and is the firſt cauſe of the misfortune of the allies. The king of France ſends them 200,000 crowns. This was enough to keep diſcord on foot, but not to make their party victorious.

The emperor gains ground daily. Moſt of the towns of Franconia ſurrender, and are heavily taxed.

The elector Palatine, one of the princes of the league, throws himſelf at Charles's feet, and aſks his pardon. Almoſt all the country as far as Heſſe-Caſſel is ſubdued.

Then

Then Pope Paul III. withdraws his 10,000 men, for whoſe ſervice he had only articled ſix months. He fears aſſiſting the emperor too much, even againſt the Proteſtants. Charles is not much weakened by this loſs. The death of the king of England, Henry VIII. happens on the 28th of January; and a diſorder, which at the ſame time haſtens the diſſolution of Francis I. deprives the league of Smalcald of two powerful protectors.

Charles eaſily ſucceeds in detaching the old duke of Wirtemberg from the league. He was ſo
1547. irritated at the revolts to which religion had given a pretext, that he attempted eſtabliſhing at Naples an inquiſition of the ſame ſort with that ſo long ſettled in Spain; but this tribunal is no ſooner ſet up there than it is aboliſhed, having cauſed a moſt violent ſedition. The emperor liked much better draining the Neapolitans of money to aſſiſt him in ſuppreſſing the league of Smalcald, than to perſiſt in forcing upon them an inquiſition, from whence he could reap no advantage.

The league ſeems almoſt deſtroyed, by the ſubmiſſion of the Palatinate and of Wirtemberg, but acquires new ſtrength from the junction of the citizens of Prague, and ſeveral of the cantons of Bohemia, who revolt againſt their ſovereign Ferdinand, and go to ſuccour the confederates. Albert of Brandenburg, margrave of Culmbach, ſurnamed Alcides, of whom we have often ſpoken, was in reality for the emperor; but his troops are defeated, and he is taken priſoner by the elector of Saxony.

To recompence the loſs of the elector of Brandenburg, John the Severe, all Lutheran as he is, takes arms in favour of the head of the empire, and aſſiſts Ferdinand againſt the Bohemians.

All things were in confuſion, and nothing heard of but battles and ravages towards the Elbe. At length the emperor paſſes the Elbe with a very ſtrong army near Mulberg, accompanied by his brother and his brother's children, Maximilian and Ferdinand, the duke of Alva being his principal general.

The

The army of the duke of Saxony is attacked on the 24th of April. This battle of Mulberg was decisive; and it is affirmed, that in it there were but forty men killed on the side of the emperor. This is almost incredible. The elector of Saxony, being wounded, is taken prisoner, with the young prince Ernest of Brunswick. On the 12th of May, Charles causes the elector to be condemned to lose his head, by advice of council. The severe duke of Alva presided at this trial. The secretary of the council signified his sentence to the elector on the same day, who was playing at chess with prince Ernest of Brunswick.

Duke Maurice, who was to have had his electorate, has the easily acquired glory of obtaining pardon for him. Charles grants him his life, on condition that he renounce, for himself and his children, the electoral dignity in favour of Maurice. They leave him the town of Gotha and its dependencies, having first demolished the fortress. From him are descended the dukes of Gotha and of Weimar. Duke Maurice engages to pay him a pension of 50,000 golden crowns yearly, and to advance him 100,000 at one time towards the payment of his debts. All those that had been made prisoners, particularly Albert of Brandenburg and Henry of Brunswick, were set at liberty; but the elector still remains the prisoner of Charles.

His wife Sibilla, sister to the duke of Cleves, throws herself at the emperor's feet, all bathed in tears, to request her husband's liberty, but in vain.

The elector's allies are soon dispersed. The landgrave of Hesse thinks only of submitting, which he is allowed to do conditionally; that he comes to embrace the knees of the emperor; that he razes all his fortresses, except Cassel or Zingenheim; paying besides 150,000 golden crowns.

The new elector, Maurice of Saxony, and the elector of Brandenburg, promise, under their hands, to the landgrave, that they will make no attempt upon his liberty. They give security, and consent to be summoned to a court of justice, either by him or his children; and,

in caſe of failure, to undergo ſuch treatment as the emperor ſhall think breach of faith deſerves.

Upon theſe aſſurances the landgrave ſubmits to every thing. Granvel biſhop of Arras, afterwards cardinal, ſettles the conditions, which Philip ſigned. We have been always aſſured, that this prelate deceived the unfortunate prince, who had expreſsly ſtipulated, that he ſhould not be detained a priſoner in coming to aſk the emperor's pardon. Granvel writ, that he ſhould not *always* be detained a priſoner. There needed but a *u* in the place of an *n* to cauſe this ſtrange difference in the German language. The words of the treaty ought to have been *nicht mit einiger gefængniſs*, and Granvel writ *e wiger*.

The landgrave was remiſs in reviſing the treaty: he imagined it was as it ought to have been; confiding in which, he went and threw himſelf at the emperor's feet. When he imagined that he might retire in ſafety, he was arreſted, and kept a long time in the emperor's train. The conqueror ſeized upon all the artillery of John Frederic, elector of Saxony, of the landgrave of Heſſe, and alſo of the duke of Wirtemberg. He confiſcated the poſſeſſions of many of the chiefs of the party: he impoſed taxes on all thoſe whom he had vanquiſhed, not excepting the towns that had only aſſiſted them. It is pretended that in this manner he raiſed 1,600,000 golden crowns.

Ferdinand king of the Romans, on his part, puniſhes the Bohemians, depriving the citizens of Prague of their privileges and their arms, many of whom were condemned to death, and others to perpetual impriſonment. The taxes and confiſcations were immenſe: theſe never fail to have a conſiderable part in the vengeance of ſovereigns.

The council of Trent was diſperſed during theſe troubles. The pope inclines to tranſfer it to Bologna.

The emperor had conquered the league, but not the Proteſtant religion. Thoſe of that communion demand in the diet of Augſburg, that the Proteſtant divines ſhall have a deliberative voice in the council.

The

The emperor was more diſſatisfied with the pope than with the Proteſtant divines. He could not forgive him for having recalled the troops of the church in the heat of the war of Smalcald. He makes him feel his anger on account of Parma and Placentia. He had permitted the holy father to give the inveſtiture of it to his baſtard ſon, when he had a mind to keep fair with him; but when diſſatisfied, he recollected that Parma and Placentia are dependent on the Milaneſe, and that it was the emperor alone who ought to give the inveſtiture. Pope Paul III. alarmed at the power of Charles V. negotiates againſt him with Henry II. and the Venetians.

In theſe circumſtances, the ſon of the pope, become odious for his crimes all over Italy, was aſſaſſinated by the conſpirators. The emperor then poſſeſſes himſelf of Placentia, taking it from his kindred, notwithſtanding his parental tenderneſs for Margaret his daughter.

The emperor quarrels with the pope, and favours the Proteſtants a little more. He had always deſigned the council to be in ſome German town, and pope Paul III. transferred it to Bologna. This added freſh fuel to the quarrel ſubſiſting on account of Placentia. On the one ſide, the pope threatened the emperor with excommunication, and thereby gave the Proteſtants a new opportunity of reflecting on him, who held the ſpiritual arms employed by the pope in favour of his children, in that ridiculous light they merited. On the other hand, Charles V. made himſelf in ſome meaſure the head of religion in Germany. 1548.

On the 15th of May the grand Interim was publiſhed in the diet of Augſburg. This was a formulary of faith and diſcipline; the tenets were Catholic, except that they permitted the communion in both kinds to the laity and marriage to the prieſts. Many indifferent ceremonies were ſacrificed to the Lutherans, to engage them to receive ſuch things as were more eſſential.

This regulation was very reaſonable; therefore it contented no body. The people were too unſettled; both the Papiſts and the Lutherans complained, and Charles V. perceives, that to win battles is eaſier than to govern opinions. Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, in

order to oblige him, in vain endeavours to have the new form received in his dominions; but the Proteſtant miniſters were ſtronger than he. The elector of Brandenburg and the elector Palatine receive the Interim. The landgrave of Heſſe ſubmits to it in hope of obtaining his liberty, in which he is nevertheleſs deceived.

John Frederic, the former elector of Saxony, although a priſoner, refuſes to ſign it. His example is followed by many princes and ſeveral towns. The clergy in general cry out againſt the peace preſented them by the Interim.

The emperor contents himſelf with threatening them; and as he leans more to the pope than to the Lutherans at that time, he degrees by the diet that the council ſhould return to Trent, and charges himſelf with the care of transferring it.

The Low Countries are in this diet put under the care of the Germanic body: they are declared free from the taxes which the ſtates were to pay the empire, and from the juriſdiction of the imperial chamber, though included in the tenth circle: they are not obliged to be any way ſerviceable to the empire; but in caſe of a war with the Turks, then they were to contribute as much as three electors. Theſe rules were ſubſcribed by Charles V. on the 26th of June. The people of Valois are put under the imperial ban on account of not having paid their taxes, from which they are at this day exempt, becauſe they are known to have become free.

The city of Conſtance does not receive the Interim until it is put under the ban of the empire.

The city of Straſburg prevails ſo far as to procure the Interim to take place in that diſtrict with reſpect only to the Catholic churches, and that Lutheraniſm ſhall be publicly profeſſed.

Chriſtiern III. king of Denmark, receives the inveſtiture of the duchy of Holſtein, in common with his brothers John and Adolphus, by the hands of his ambaſſadors.

Maximilian, ſon of Ferdinand, eſpouſes Mary his couſin, the emperor's daughter. This marriage is celebrated at Valladolid the latter end of September, and

Maximilian

Maximilian and Mary are conjointly regents of Spain, which is notwithſtanding governed by a council named by Charles V.

The emperor retired to Bruſſels, cauſes the provinces of Flanders, Hainault, and the Artois, to do homage to his eldeſt ſon Philip. 1549.

The council of Trent is ſtill divided. There were ſome few prelates there in the emperor's intereſt. The pope had called together ſome others at Bologna. A ſchiſm was much dreaded. The pope indeed feared that the houſe of Bentivoglio ſhould, under the emperor's protection, re-enter Bologna, of which Julius II. had diſpoſſeſſed them. He diſſolves the council of Bologna.

Octavio Farneſe, kinſman to Charles V. and grandſon to Paul III. has equal cauſe to complain of his father-in-law and his grandfather. His father-in-law detains Placentia from him, being at variance with the pope; and his grand-father keeps him out of Parma, becauſe he had a diſpute with the emperor. He attempts, however, to ſeize upon Parma without ſucceſs. It is pretended that the pope died of the griefs heaped upon him by his family and the emperor. but ought not they, who advanced this, to remember adding, that he was 81 years of age?

The arms of Solyman were turned towards the Euphrates, ſo that the empire was not at all diſturbed by the Turks. The Perſians preſerve Auſtria, but the Turks remain ſtill maſters of the greateſt part of Hungary. 1550.

Henry II. king of France, ſeems very eaſy. The affairs of the council, and thoſe of Placentia gave conſiderable uneaſineſs to the new pope Julius III. The emperor has the better in the Interim, which is ſtill the occaſion of vexation in Germany. What muſt people think to ſee men ſo little ſcrupulous as Paul III. Julius III. and Charles V. decide upon religion?

The powerful town of Magdeburg was in league with the town of Bremen, and carried on a war againſt the duke of Mecklenburg. The emperor condemns theſe two towns, and commits the reduction of Magdeburg to

Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, whom he irritates by giving him this mark of his confidence. Maurice juſtifies the ambition which had ſtripped his tutor and his kinſman of the electorate of Saxony, by the laws attaching him to the head of the empire. But he thought his honour loſt by the impriſonment of his father-in-law, the landgrave of Heſſe; who, notwithſtanding his ſecurity and that of the elector of Brandenburg, was ſtill detained a captive. Theſe two princes preſs the emperor continually to redeem their word. Charles takes the ſingular reſolution of freeing them from their promiſe. The landgrave endeavours to eſcape, which coſt ſome of his domeſtics their heads.

The elector of Saxony, thus diſſatisfied with Charles V. is in no great haſte to fight for an emperor whoſe power all the princes felt ſo deſpotic. He does nothing againſt Magdeburg: he lets them quietly beat the duke of Mecklenburg, whom they take priſoner, and the emperor begins to repent that he had given Maurice the electorate: he had too much reaſon to be ſorry for it: it was Maurice's intention to make himſelf head of the Proteſtant party, and to engage in his intereſts ſeveral towns as well as Magdeburg, and by the means of his new-acquired power to balance that of the emperor. Upon theſe principles, he already treats with Henry II. and a new ſtorm is brewing in the empire.

Charles V. whom one would have imagined in the fulneſs of power, was nevertheleſs prodi-
1551. giouſly embarraſſed. The Proteſtant party could not be attached to him, nor yet could they be deſtroyed. The affair of Parma and Placentia, in which the king of France began to meddle, exhibited the proſpect of an approaching war. The Turks were ſtill in Hungary; and in Bohemia, almoſt every-body revolted againſt his brother Ferdinand.

Charles imagined he ſhould give additional weight to his authority by engaging his brother to part with his title of king of the Romans, and his claim of ſucceeding to the empire, in favour of his ſon Philip. Paternal tenderneſs might have ſuggeſted this deſign; but it is certain, that the imperial authority ſtood in need of a chief,

a chief, who, being maſter of Spain and of the new world, had been alſo ſufficiently powerful to control at the ſame time his enemies and the princes of the empire. It is alſo certain that the princes ſaw thereby their prerogatives in danger, and ſubmitted, not without difficulty, to the emperor's views. They contributed only to incenſe Ferdinand, and embroil the two brothers.

Charles comes to an open rupture with Ferdinand, demands his depoſition of the electors, and requires their votes in favour of his ſon. He reaps nothing from this undertaking, but the mortification of being refuſed, and of ſeeing the elector Palatine with the electors of Saxony and of Brandenburg openly oppoſe his deſigns.

The elector Maurice at length enters Magdeburg upon condition, that though he had taken this town in the name of the emperor, he ſubdued it for himſelf. The ſame ambition which had prompted him to receive the electorate of Saxony, at the hands of Charles V. now ſpurred him on to unite againſt that prince with Joachim, elector of Brandenburg, Frederic the count Palatine, Chriſtopher duke of Wirtemberg, Erneſt marquis of Baden-dourlach, and ſeveral other princes. This league was infinitely more dangerous than that of Smalcald. Henry II. king of France, a young enterpriſing prince, joins the league. He was to furniſh 240,000 crowns during the three firſt months of the war, and 60,000 each month following. He makes himſelf maſter of Cambray, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, protecting them as vicar of the empire; a ſingular ſort of title, which he then aſſumed for a pretext, as if he had been really one.

The king of France already laid hold of the affair of Parma, as a ſufficient cauſe for carrying the war into Italy. It does not appear in the order of things, that it was he who ſhould have protected Octavio Farneſe againſt the emperor his father-in-law: but it was very natural for Henry II. to leave nothing uneſſayed towards the recovery of the duchy of Milan, to which his predeceſſors had always pretenſions.

Henry alſo unites with the Turks, according to the plan of Francis I. and the admiral Dragut, a man not leſs formidable than Cheredin, ſurnamed Barbaroſſa, had been, made a deſcent upon the coaſt of Sicily, and pillaged the town of Auguſta.

The army of Solyman at the ſame time advances in Hungary. Julius III. was the only perſon who took the part of Charles V. with whom they united againſt his kinſman Octavio Farneſe; though at bottom, the intereſts and pretenſions of the pope and the emperor were very different, each pretending a right of ſovereignty over Parma and Placentia.

The French alſo carry the war into Piedmont and Montferrat. The emperor is at one and the ſame time, obliged to oppoſe a formidable army of Turks in Hungary, one half of Germany leagued and armed againſt him, and a king of France, young, rich, and well ſerved, impatient to ſignalize himſelf, and to repair the misfortunes of his predeceſſors.

Charles and Ferdinand are reconciled by intereſt and danger. They have at length ſome ſucceſs in Hungary.

Ferdinand was at the ſame time happy enough to get Tranſilvania. The widow of John Zapoly, queen of Hungary, who was a queen only in name, governed Tranſilvania, in the name of her ſon Stephen Sigiſmund, under the protection of the Turks; a protection ſo very tyrannical, that ſhe was weary of it. She is induced by Martinuſius Biſhop of Waradin, afterwards Cardinal, to exchange Tranſilvania with Ferdinand, for ſome poſſeſſions in Sileſia, ſuch as Opelen and Ratibor. Never did queen make ſo bad a bargain. Ferdinand declares Martinuſius Vaivode of Tranſilvania. This cardinal governs in Ferdinand's name, with authority and courage. He puts himſelf at the head of the Tranſilvanians to march againſt the Turks, whom he aſſiſts the Imperialiſts to repel. But Ferdinand beginning to miſtruſt him, cauſes him to be aſſaſſinated by Palavicini in the caſtle of Wintz.

The pope was at that time, too cloſely connected with the emperor, to dare inquiring into the cauſe of this aſſaſſination;

aſſaſſination; however, he excommunicated Frederic the year following. An excommunication productive of neither noiſe nor effect: It is one of thoſe which have been often called *brutum fulmen*. It was nevertheleſs put in practice, when ſuch men, as ſpake in the name of the Divinity, imagined they have a right in his name, to ſet themſelves above ſuch ſovereigns as abuſed their power to exceſs; but thoſe, who judge of kings, ought themſelves to be irreprehenſible.

Maurice the elector of Saxony, throws off his maſk, and publiſhes a manifeſto, declaring himſelf allied to the king of France, to obtain the liberty of John Frederic, the very man whom he had diſpoſſeſſed, the enlargement of landgrave of Heſſe, and for the ſupport of his religion. 1552.

He is joined by Joachim elector of Brandenburg. William, ſon of the impriſoned landgrave of Heſſe, Henry Otho elector Palatine, and Albert of Mecklenburg are up in arms, before the emperor has drawn together any troops.

Maurice and his confederates march to the defiles of Tirol, and drive out the few Imperialiſts who poſſeſſed them. The emperor and his brother Ferdinand are nigh being taken priſoners, and ſave themſelves by a very diſorderly flight. Charles always carries with him the old elector of Saxony as a priſoner. He offers him his liberty. That he refuſed to accept it, * is almoſt unaccountable. Perhaps, if the truth was known, the emperor did not offer it.

Nevertheleſs about the beginning of April, the king of France ſeizes upon Verdun, Toul, and Metz. He takes Haguenau and Wiſſemburgh. Thence he turns off towards Luxemburgh and poſſeſſes himſelf of ſeveral towns.

* The elector Maurice, while Ferdinand was amuſed with a negotiation, forced the paſſes of the vallies that lead to Inſpruck, took the caſtle of Eremberg by aſſault, and had well nigh ſeized the perſon of the emperor, who fled with precipitation in the night, being conveyed in a litter during a ſevere fit of the gout, having no other attendants but his brother Ferdinand and John Frederic of Saxony, to whom he granted his liberty on this occaſion.

To add to the emperor's diſgraces, he is informed in his flight, that the pope had abandoned his intereſt, and declared himſelf neuter between France and him. It was about this time his brother Ferdinand was excommunicated. It had been much more to the pope's honour, that theſe cenſures were not paſſed at a time when they ſeemed the effects of politics.

In the midſt of theſe troubles, the fathers of the council withdraw themſelves from Trent, and the council is again ſuſpended.

In theſe unhappy times, all Germany is a prey to devaſtation. Albert of Brandenburg plunders all the commanderies of the Teutonic order, as well as Bamberg, Nuremberg, Weitzberg, and many towns of Suabia. The confederates deſtroy by fire and ſword, the dominions of the elector of Mentz, Worms, Spire, and lay ſiege to Frankfort.

In the mean time, the emperor having retired to Paſſau, and aſſembled an army after ſo many diſgraces, brings the confederates into meaſures. A peace is concluded on the 12th of Auguſt. By this renowned peace of Paſſau, he grants a general amneſty to all who had borne arms againſt him, ſince the year 1546. The Proteſtants not only obtain a free exerciſe of their religion, but are alſo admitted into the imperial chamber, whence after the victory of Mulberg they had been excluded. It is ſome matter of ſurprize, that the liberty of the landgrave of Heſſe was not included in this treaty, he remaining ſtill confined in the fort of Rheinfeld, until he ſhould give ſecurity for his fidelity. Nor is it leſs wonderful, that nothing was ſtipulated in favour of John Frederic, the former elector of Saxony.

The emperor nevertheleſs, in a ſhort time after, ſets this unfortunate prince at liberty, and permits him to return into Thuringia, of which he was ſtill maſter.

The happy Maurice of Saxony, having crowned his religion with laurels, and humbled the emperor, enjoys the additional glory of defending him. He leads 16,000 men into Hungary; notwithſtanding which aſſiſtance, Ferdinand finds it impoſſible to keep poſſeſſion of Upper Hungary,

Hungary, without ſubmitting to the ſtates, and paying an annual tribute of 20,000 golden crowns to Solyman.

This was a hapleſs year for Charles V. Piedmont, Montferrat, and Parma, were over-run with French troops, and more powerful invaſions were to be feared in the Milaneſe and the kingdom of Naples. Dragut infeſts all the Italian coaſts.

Notwithſtanding the taxes impoſed upon the Germans after the battle of Mulberg, and the treaſurers of Mexico, Charles's finances were drained. The vaſt extent of his territories, his voyages and his wars, abſorb them all. He borrows 200,000 golden crowns from the duke of Florence, count de Medicis, and gives him the ſovereignty of Piombino and of the Iſland of Elbe. With his aſſiſtance he ſupports himſelf in ſome meaſure in Italy, and lays ſiege to Metz with a powerful army.

Albert of Brandenburg, the only Proteſtant prince, who ſtill held out againſt him, is reconciled, and joins his forces; but the famous Francis duke of Guiſe, who defended Metz with the flower of the French nobility, obliges them, on the 26th of December, to raiſe the ſiege, after having lain 65 days before the town. Charles loſes in this undertaking, more than one third of his army.

Charles, to revenge himſelf of the inſult that had been offered him at Metz, ſends the counts de Lalain and de Rœux to lay ſiege to Terouane, 1553. which town is taken and deſtroyed.

Philibert Emanuel, prince of Piedmont, afterwards duke of Savoy, who ſoon became one of the greateſt generals of the age, is put at the head of the imperial army. He takes Heſdin, which is razed to the ground, in the ſame manner as Terouane. But the duke of Arſcot, who commanded a conſiderable body of troops, ſuffers himſelf to be beaten, and the fortune of Charles is again at a ſtand.

The affairs of Italy remain in the ſame ſituation; nor are thoſe of Germany ſettled. The reſtleſs Albert of Brandenburg, called Alcibiades, ſtill heads a body of troops that ſubſiſt only by pillage. He ravages the dominions

minions of Henry of Brunſwick, and of Maurice elector of Saxony.

The elector Maurice gives him battle near Hildeſheim in the month of July, in which he defeats Albert, but is himſelf killed. This prince, though but thirty-two years of age, had acquired the character of a good commander, and a great politician. He is ſucceeded by his brother Auguſtus.

Albert, the Alcibiades, ſtill continues the civil war. The imperial chamber proceed againſt him; notwithſtanding which he continues his depredations; but at length wanting men and money, takes refuge in France. The emperor better to ſecure that prodigious power, which had received ſo many additions and diminutions, concludes the marriage of his ſon Philip with Mary queen of England, daughter of Henry VIII. by Catharine of Arragon.

Though the parliament of England made it an additional clauſe in the marriage-contract, that the alliance between England and France ſhould ſtill ſubſiſt, Charles had nevertheleſs hopes, and thoſe not ill grounded, that this alliance would be ſoon broken. It was in reality to arm England againſt France, that he gave that kingdom to his ſon as a ſovereign; and had Mary had children, the houſe of Auſtria would have ſeen all the ſtates of Europe from the Baltic ſea, France excepted, ſubſervient, to its laws.

Charles gives up the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to his ſon Philip, before that prince embarks for
1554. England, where he lands in July, and is crowned with Mary his ſpouſe, in the ſame manner as king William has ſince been crowned with another Mary, but with nothing of William's power.

The war between Charles V. and Henry II. is ſtill carried on upon the frontiers of France and Italy with various ſucceſs, but ſtill in a ſort of æquilibrium.

The troops of France ſtill remained in Piedmont and Montferrat, though their number was inconſiderable. Nor were the forces of the emperor in the Milaneſe very numerous. It ſeemed as if they were drained on both ſides.

Coſmo,

Coſmo, duke of Florence, takes up arms in behalf of the emperor. Sienna, apprehenſive of falling one day into the power of the Florentines, as it afterwards happened, was protected by the French. Medequino marquis of Marignan, general of the Florentine forces, gains a victory over the French troops and their allies, on the 2d of Auguſt. In commemoration of this victory, which was gained on St. Stephen's day, Coſmo inſtituted the order diſtinguiſhed by the name of this ſaint.

Erneſt count of Mansfeld, governor of Luxemburg, was very near getting poſſeſſion of the town of Metz, by the intrigues of a Franciſcan frier, though the emperor had not been able to ſubdue it with 50,000 men. This frier's name was Leonard; he was keeper of a convent, had been confeſſor to the duke of Guiſe, and was greatly reſpected in the town. Through his means, for ſeveral days, many German, Spaniſh, and Italian veterans, entered the town diſguiſed like Franciſcan friers, under pretence of a general chapter, which was ſoon to be held therein. 1555.

The conſpiracy was diſcovered by a Carthuſian; father Leonard is arreſted, and found dead on the following day. His body is carried to the gallows, and the people are ſatisfied with making eighteen Franciſcan friers aſſiſt at the gibbeting him.

The ancient papal policy, revives under pope Paul IV. of the houſe of Caraffa This policy, as hath been ſeen in the courſe of this work, was always to prevent the emperor from becoming too powerful in Italy.

The pope ſeems to have forgotten the council of Trent. All his thoughts are bent upon making war in the kingdom of Naples and the Milaneſe with the aſſiſtance of France, to procure, if poſſible, theſe principalities for his nephews. In caſe that Henry II. ſhall furniſh new troops, he engages to join them with 10,000 men.

The war begins to grow more ſpirited than ever. Charles ſaw it impoſſible for him to have one peaceful moment. He was tormented by the gout, and the weight of ſuch a variety of affairs became painful to him.

him. He had for a long time borne a principal part in all the tranſactions of Europe. He reſolves to finiſh his courſe by the moſt ſingular action of his life, that of abdicating his crowns and the empire.

While he prepared to renounce ſo many ſovereignties that he might ſeclude himſelf in a monaſtery, he confirms the liberty of the Proteſtants in the diet of Augſburg. He gives up to them the eccleſiaſtical revenues upon which they had ſeized, and on their account, the form of oath adminiſtered to the counſellors of the imperial chamber is changed to ſwearing by the goſpel, inſtead of by the ſaints as formerly. Thus does the conqueror of Mulberg give way to neceſſity, and on the eve of aſſuming the monkiſh cowl, acts like a philoſopher.

On the 24th of November, he ſurrenders the Low-countries to his ſon Philip, in preſence of the ſtates aſſembled at Bruſſels; and Spain, and the new world, together with the hereditary province, on the tenth of the enſuing January.

He pardons his kinſman Octavio Farneſe, giving up to him Placentia and the Novareſe, after which he prepares himſelf to ſurrender the empire to his brother the king of the Romans.

All things diſguſted him. The Turks were maſters of part of Hungary as far as Buda, and
1556. troubleſome to the reſt. The Tranſylvanians bore impatiently their yoke. Proteſtantiſm ſpread itſelf in Auſtria, and the emperor had for a long time determined to diveſt him of ſo many cares. Burdened with a premature and infirm old age, yet maſter of a ſoul free from illuſion, not being able to cede the empire to his ſon, he gives it up to his brother, demanding previouſly the conſent of the holy ſee; he who certainly had not made this demand when elected emperor himſelf.

Pope Paul III. abuſes the ſubmiſſion of Charles V. by ſending him a refuſal. This pontiff was extremely well ſatisfied to ſee him quit the empire, and to mortify him at the ſame time.

Charles

Charles V. without conſulting the pope any more, ſends his abdication to Bruſſels on the 17th of September 1556, and in the 36th year of his reign *.

The prince of Orange carries the crown and imperial ſceptre to Ferdinand. Charles ſoon after embarks for Spain, and ſhuts himſelf up at Eſtremadura in the monaſtry of St. Juſtus, of the order of St. Jerome.

It is a common notion, that he repented of this proceeding; but this is an opinion founded merely upon human weakneſs, which believes it impoſſible to quit without regret that which is ſo furiouſly envied by the world. Charles abſolutely no more thought of that theatre, on which he had played ſo conſiderable a part, nor yet of the world which he had troubled.

Paul IV. engages the eccleſiaſtical electors neither to accept of the diſmiſſion of Charles V. nor to acknowledge Ferdinand. It was his buſineſs to ſow the ſeeds of diſcord in the empire, his power in Italy acquiring thence new ſtrength; and in truth, all the acts of the empire were publiſhed in the name of Charles V. until his death; a fact as important as it is true, and yet not taken notice of by any hiſtorian.

FERDINAND I.

Forty-Second Emperor.

1557.

THE abdication of Charles V. leaves confirmed the power of the German princes. The houſe of Auſtria, divided into two branches, is as yet the moſt conſiderable in Europe; but the Spaniſh branch, far ſuperior to the other, entirely engroſſed by views very different from that of the empire, no longer permits the Spaniſh, Italian, and Flemiſh troops to contribute to the imperial greatneſs.

Ferdinand

* He reſerved to himſelf no more than a penſion of two hundred thouſand ducats, to be deducted from the revenue of Spain.

Ferdinand has very large poſſeſſions in Germany; but the Upper-Hungary, which is his, ſcarcely affords him ſufficiency to maintain ſuch troops as were neceſſary to make head againſt the Turks. The Bohemians ſeemed to bear their yoke with regret, and it is impoſſible for Ferdinand to be powerful, independent of the empire.

The firſt year of his reign is diſtinguiſhed by the diet of Ratiſbon, which confirms the peace of religion, by reconciling the houſe of Heſſe to that of Naſſau.

The elector Palatine, and the elector of Saxony, and the duke of Cleves, who were choſen as umpires, adjudge the counties of Darmſtad to Philip landgrave of Heſſe, and the county of Diatz to William of Naſſau.

This year is marked by a ſort of war, waged by an archbiſhop of Bremen, of the houſe of Brunſwic againſt Friezeland. And here is evinced the vaſt utility of the wiſe inſtitution of circles, and of directors of circles ſet on foot by Frederic III. and Maximilian. The aſſembly of the circle of Lower-Saxony re-eſtabliſhes peace.

At length, on the 28th of February, the electors confirm the abdication of Charles and the ſway of his brother at Francfort. An embaſſy is ſent to the pope, which he refuſes to receive, ſtill pretending Ferdinand not to be emperor. The ambaſſadors proteſt, and then withdraw from Rome; Ferdinand is not the leſs acknowledged in Germany.

The duchy of Schleſwic is ſtill acknowledged independent of the empire.

On the 21ſt of September 1558, happens that great event Charles the Vth's death. It is well
1558. known, that through a whimſical ſort of devotion, a ſhort time before his laſt illneſs, he cauſed his obſequies to be celebrated, himſelf aſſiſting as a mourner: nay, that he was ſtretched upon the bier in the middle of the church of St. Juſtus, while they ſung *de profundis*. In this laſt action of his life he ſeemed to have poſſeſſed a little of the ſpirit of Johannah his mother, and yet upon a throne he had always conducted himſelf like a politician, a hero, and a man not inſenſible to his pleaſures. How many contrarieties united

nited in his diſpoſition! who, though poſſeſſed of more han monkiſh devotion was ſuppoſed at his death to old ſeveral of Luther's tenets. To what lengths will ot human weakneſs and extravagance extend! Maxiilian would willingly be pope. Charles V. tho' he ied a monk, yet at his death is ſuſpected of hereſy *.

Since the funeral rights of Alexander, nothing had been ſo ſuperb as the obſequies of Charles the V. in the manner in which they were conducted in the principal towns of his dominions. At Bruſſels they coſt 70,000 ducats. Expences noble as theſe, contribute to illuſtrate the memory of a great man, while they employ and encourage arts: Yet more durable monuments ought to have been raiſed than a ſhow, tranſitory like this, which is certainly far from being ſufficient. Something ought to be erected to immortality.

Ferdinand holds a diet at Augſburg, in which the ambaſſadors of Henry II. king of France are introduced. France had juſt made peace at 1559.
Cateau-Cambreſis with Philip II. king of Spain. The French by this peace preſerved in Italy only Turin, and ſome other towns which they afterwards gave up; but they kept Mentz, Toul, and Verdun, which the emperor might have demanded, yet they are hardly ſpoken of in the diet. It is barely hinted to the ambaſſadors, that while France keeps poſſeſſion of theſe three towns, it will be extremely hard for a good underſtanding to ſubſiſt between France and Germany.

The new Pope Pius IV. is not ſo inflexible as Paul IV. but ſoon acknowledges Ferdinand for emperor.

On the 29th of November the council of Trent, after having been ſo long ſuſpended, is at
length re-eſtabliſhed by a bull of Pius IV. 1560.
he gives notice of the aſſembling this council to all ſovereigns; he even ſignifies it to the Proteſtant princes of Germany. But as the addreſs of his letters

* In his laſt moments he received the euchariſt in both ſpecies; a circumſtance which induced many people to believe he favoured the Proteſtant religion.

letters was "To our moſt dear Son," thoſe who did not chooſe to acknowledge themſelves children of the pope, ſend back his letter un-opened.

Livonia, which had hitherto belonged to the empire, is divided from it and given up to Poland.

1561. The knights of Livonia, who were a branch of the knights of the Teutonic order, had been a long time maſters of this province under the imperial protection. But theſe knights, unable to reſiſt the Muſcovites, and receiving no ſuccours from Germany, give up this province to Poland. Sigiſmund king of Poland, confers the duchy of Poland and the dignity of viceroy of Livonia on Godar Ketler.

The meetings of the council of Trent begin.

The ambaſſador of Bavaria contends with that of Venice for precedence. The Venetians are

1562. maintained in poſſeſſion of their rank. The communion by bread and wine is one of the firſt things diſcuſſed in this council. The council neither allows nor forbids it to the ſeculars. The decree barely imports, that the church has very juſt reaſons for prohibiting it, and that the fathers ſhall conduct themſelves in this affair, entirely by the judgment of the pope, which ſhall be to them deciſive.

On the 24th of November, the electors at Frankfort unanimouſly declare Maximilian ſon of Ferdinand, king of the Romans.

All the electors aſſiſt perſonally in their ſeveral functions at this ceremony, according to the tenure of the golden bull. This ſolemnity was rendered the more glorious by the preſence of an ambaſſador from Solyman, who ſigns a peace between the two emperors, whereby the limits of the Auſtrian and Ottoman Hungary are regulated. Solyman begins to grow old, and is not ſo terrible as he has been. Nevertheleſs, this peace was of no long duration; but it was made at a time when the body of the empire was eaſy and happy.

This year is memorable for the diſſolution of the council of Trent. This long council, which

1563. was the laſt general one, neither ſerved to ſoften nor ſubdue the enemies of the Roman church.

church. They publiſhed ſome edicts concerning diſcipline, which were ſcarcely admitted in any catholic country, and were not productive of any one great event.

The council of Baſil had rent the church and ſet up an anti-pope. That of Conſtance kindled the fires of perſecution, and was the cauſe of thirty years war. That of Lyons depoſed an emperor, and drew upon it his vengeance. That of Lateran ſtripped count Raymond of his dominion of Toulouſe, and Gregory VII. by the excommunication of Henry IV. in the eighth council of Rome, ſet all things in a flame. The 4th council of Conſtantinople, which was held againſt Photius in the time of Charles the Bald, was a ſcene of many diſputes. The ſecond of Nicea, under Ireneus, was ſtill more tumultuous and more diſturbed by the diſputes about images. The diſputes of the Monotheliteſ were very near making the third council of Conſtantinople a very bloody one. It is well known, that great diviſions actuated the councils held on account of Arius. The council of Trent was the only one which had been conducted with moderation.

On the 25th of July, Ferdinand dies. A will that he had made twenty years before, that is in the year 1543, and which he did not contradict in his laſt moments, ſcattered afar the ſeeds of that war, which diſturbed Europe almoſt 200 years after. 1564.

This famous teſtament of 1543, appoints, in caſe of the failure of the male iſſue of either Ferdinand or Charles V. that the Auſtrian territories ſhall revert to his daughter Anne and her iſſue. She was the ſecond daughter to Ferdinand, and wife to Albert II. duke of Bavaria. This foreſeen event happened in our days, and embroiled all Europe. Many unhappy occurrences would have been prevented, if the will of Ferdinand, as well as the marriage-contract of his daughter, had been more clearly expreſſed.

It may be remarked, that this Anne ducheſs of Bavaria aſſumed the title of queen of Hungary in her marriage-contract, as well as the reſt of her ſiſters. They might

might indeed have called her Queen without her being one, as ſhe was called archdutcheſs without poſſeſſing any archduchy. However, this cuſtom was not followed.

Ferdinand, beſides, by his laſt will, left Hungary, Bohemia, and the Upper and Lower Auſtria, to his ſon Maximilian king of the Romans.

To his ſecond ſon Ferdinand, he bequeathed Tirol and the anterior Auſtria.

To Charles, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, and all his poſſeſſions in Iſtria.

The Auſtrian dominions were at that time all divided; but the empire, which ſtill remained in that houſe, was the ſtandard to which all the princes of that houſe re-united.

Ferdinand was neither crowned in Lombardy nor Rome. The inutility of theſe ceremonies began to be perceived, and it was much more eſſential for the two principal branches of the imperial houſe, Spain and Auſtria, to hold a good intelligence with each other. It is that which renders Italy ſubmiſſive, and brings the holy ſee to a dependence upon that houſe.

MAXIMILIAN II.

Forty-third Emperor.

1564.

THE empire, as we have already ſeen, without ceaſing to be elective, becomes hereditary. The emperors ſince the time of Charles V. deſiſt from croſſing the Alps, to ſeek either an iron crown, or one of gold. The power of moſt weight in Italy, was that of Philip II. who, though at the ſame time a vaſſal to the empire and to the holy ſee, governed not only in Italy but in Rome by his politics, and by the riches of the new world; the firſt gleanings of which, and no more, his father had poſſeſſed, but he enjoyed its real ſweets.

The

The empire under Maximilian II. as under Ferdinand I. was certainly Germany, paramount of Lombardy; but this Lombardy being in the hands of Philip II. belonged rather to an ally than a vaſſal. Hungary became a dominion of the houſe of Auſtria, a dominion that inceſſantly oppoſed the Turks, and was as it were the bulwark of Germany.

Maximilian, in the firſt year of his reign, is obliged, as his father and grandfather had been before, to carry on a war againſt Solyman.

This Sultan, who had defeated the generals of Charles V. and of Ferdinand, makes war in the latter part of his life by his lieutenants. Tranſilvania furniſhed him with a pretext, where he wanted always to name a tributary vaivode, and John Sigiſmund, ſon to that queen of Hungary, who had ceded her rights for ſome villages in Sileſia, had put his hereditary dominions under the Sultan's protection, chooſing rather to be a ſovereign and tributary to the Turks, than a ſimple lord. The war is carried on in Hungary; and, in the month of January, Maximilian's generals take Tokai. Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, is the only prince who aſſiſts the emperor in this war. The thoughts of all the princes, both Catholic and Proteſtant, were bent upon ſtrengthening themſelves. Religion at that time engroſſed the attention of the people more than it had ever divided them. The greateſt part of the Catholics in Bavaria, Auſtria, Hungary, and Bohemia, in acknowledging the council of Trent, ſtipulate barely, that they ſhall be admitted to communion with bread and wine; and the prieſts, who, before the breaking up of the council of Trent, had been permitted to marry, deſire that they may keep their wives. Maximilian II. prefers theſe two requeſts to the pope. Pope Pius IV. to whom the council had left the deciſion of the ſacrament, allows the German laity to communicate as they pleaſe, but refuſes leave to the prieſts to marry; beſides, the laity were afterwards deprived of wine in their communion.

A treaty

A treaty is made with the Turks, who ſtill remain
1565. maſters of Buda, and the prince of Tranſil-
vania continues under their protection.

Solyman ſends Bacha Muſtapha to beſiege Zigeth. Nothing is better known than this ſiege, in which the fortune of Solyman expired *.

Notwithſtanding the weakneſs of the imperial power
ever ſince the treaty of Paſſau, the legiſlative
1566. authority was ſtill veſted in the emperor; and
was pretty effectual when the princes, with whom it had to deal, were not too powerful.

Maximilian II. employs this authority againſt John Albert duke of Mecklenburg, and Ulric his brother; each of whom pretends to equal rights upon the town of Roſtock, from which the inhabitants of the town prove themſelves to be exempt, whom the two brothers make war upon, and unite in plundering.

The emperor has the credit of terminating this difference by an imperial commiſſion.

Solyman's fleet takes the town of Chio from the Venetians. Maximilian thence takes occaſion to demand in the diet of Augſburg more powerful ſuccours than had been granted to Charles V. in the time that Solyman was before Vienna. The diet orders ſoldiers to be raiſed for him, and grant him the *Roman Months* for three years; a thing that they had never done before.

Count Serini, who commanded in Zigeth, is killed in defending it, after having with his own hand ſet the town on fire. The grand viſier ſends his head to Maximilian with this meſſage: That he ought to have hazarded his own head in coming to the defence of that town, ſince he had under his command 120,000 men.

The

* Solyman himſelf expired two days before the town was taken: he had inveſted the place with an army of two hundred thouſand men, and Maximilian advanced at the head of one hundred thouſand men to its relief, but had not courage enough to give the enemy battle. Count Zerine, governor of the town, made a glorious defence, until all the fortifications were ruined; then made a deſperate ſally with three hundred men, all of whom were cut in pieces; ſo that the town ſurrendered of courſe.

The army of Maximilian, the death of Solyman, and the approach of winter, all contributed to ſtop the progreſs of the Turks.

The ill ſucceſs of the imperial campaign was laid hold of by the ſtates of Auſtria and Bohemia to ſupport their demand of the free exerciſe of their religion, according to the confeſſion of Augſburg

About this time begin the troubles of the Low Countries, and Calviniſm had already ſet France in a flame; but Maximilian, more happy than Philip II. or the king of France, abſolutely refuſed his ſubjects liberty of conſcience, and his army, which had done him but little ſervice againſt the Turks, maintains him in tranquillity at home.

This year was pregnant with misfortunes heaped upon the ancient branch of the electoral houſe of Saxony, which Charles V. had deprived of the electorate. 1567.

This electorate, given, as we have ſeen, to the younger branch, ought to have been an object of the elder's regret. A gentleman, named Groumbach, who was proſcribed with many of his accomplices for divers crimes, retired to Gotha, the reſidence of John Frederic, ſon to him from whom the duchy and electorate of Saxony had been taken after the battle of Mulberg.

Groumbach had principally in view the avenging himſelf upon Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, to whom the care of carrying the proſecution againſt Groumbach into execution was committed. He had aſſociated himſelf with ſeveral villains, together with whom he ſubſiſted upon robbery and pillage, and in concert with theſe he ſets on foot a deſign of aſſaſſinating the elector. One of the conſpirators being taken at Dreſden, confeſſes the plot. The elector Auguſtus marches his troops under an imperial commiſſion to Gotha. Groumbach, whom the duke of Gotha protected, was then in the town, together with ſeveral ſoldiers reſolutely determined to ſhare his fortune, be it what it might. The duke of Gotha's troops and the citizens defend their town, but are at length forced to ſurrender. The

duke

duke John Frederic, as unfortunate as his father, is arreſted, carried to Vienna, and thence transferred to Naples, while his dominions are given to his brother William. Groumbach and his accomplices are inſtantly executed.

The troubles of the Low Countries increaſe. William the Silent, prince of Orange, now head
1568. of a party who founded the republic of the United Provinces, applies himſelf to the emperor as the principal chief of the Low Countries, which were always looked upon as belonging to the empire; and in effect the emperor ſends his brother Charles of Auſtria, archduke of Gratz, into Spain to ſoften Philip II. but he can neither prevail upon the king of Spain, nor hinder moſt of the Proteſtant princes of Germany from aſſiſting the prince of Orange.

The duke of Alba, that bloody governor of the Low Countries, preſſes the emperor to deliver up to him the prince of Orange, who was at that time levying troops in Germany. The reply of Maximilian was, that the ſupreme juriſdiction of the Low Countries being veſted in the empire, he ought for this purpoſe to addreſs himſelf to the imperial diet. Such an anſwer ſhewed very ſufficiently, that the prince of Orange was a man whom they dared not arreſt.

The emperor, without intermeddling at all in the quarrel, leaves the prince of Orange at the head of one party of German troops to make war upon another party of German troops. It was however natural for him to aſſiſt his couſin Philip in this affair; the more ſo, as he had made peace that very ſame year with Selim II. ſucceſſor to the great Solyman. But apparently after this peace he was allowed no more *Roman Months*.

Yet ſo far was he from aſſiſting his couſin the king of Spain in the reduction of his ſubjects in the Low Countries, who demand liberty of conſcience, that he appears to diſapprove the conduct of Philip in ſoon after permitting the Auſtrians to adopt the confeſſion of Augſburg. He afterwards promiſes the pope to revoke that permiſſion. All theſe things manifeſt his authority to be weak, confined, and unſtable. It had been ſaid, that

that Maximilian feared the enemies of his communion as too powerful a party; and indeed the houſe of Brandenburg was entirely Proteſtant. A ſon of the elector John George, choſen archbiſhop of Magdeburg, publicly profeſſed the Proteſtant religion. A biſhop of Verdun does the ſame. The duke of Brunſwick Julius alſo embraced that religion, his ſubjects already profeſſing it. The elector Palatine and moſt of his country profeſs Proteſtantiſm. The Catholic religion hardly ſubſiſted any longer in Germany, but with the eccleſiaſtical electors, the epiſcopal territories, and in the abbeys, as well as ſome commanderies of the Teutonic order, in the hereditary dominions of the houſes of Auſtria and Bavaria; and even there were many Proteſtants as well as in Bohemia; all theſe things authoriſed the liberty Maximilian gave to the Proteſtant religion in Auſtria: but there is another ſtronger reaſon added; that is, the ſtates of Auſtria had on this account promiſed him conſiderable ſubſidies.

In the midſt of theſe wars of religion and politics, behold a diſpute founded on vanity. Coſmo II. duke of Florence, and Alphonſo duke of Ferrara, contend for precedency. Rank had been ſettled in Germany by the diets; but there being no diets in Italy, the diſputes about rank remained ſtill undetermined. Theſe two dukes were both related to the emperor. Francis, the hereditary prince of Florence, and the duke of Ferrara, had each of them married ſiſters of Maximilian. The two dukes leave their difference to his arbitration; but pope Pius V. who looked upon the duke of Ferrara as his feudatory, and the duke of Florence as his ally, haſtens to give a new title to Coſmo, conferring upon him with much ceremony the dignity of Grand Duke, as if the bare word Grand made ſome vaſt addition to power. Maximilian is extremely irritated at the pope's arrogating to himſelf a right of giving titles to the feudatories of the empire, and of anticipating his judgment. The duke of Florence pretends that he is no feudatory. The pope maintains, that he has not only the power of making grand dukes but kings. The diſpute grows more in- 1569.

flamed: but at length the grand duke, who was very rich, was acknowledged by the emperor.

This year was held the diet of Spire, in which most of the dominions of the unhappy duke of
1570. Gotha, who remains confined in Naples, are restored to his children. A peace is also there concluded between the emperor and John Sigismund prince of Transilvania, who is acknowledged sovereign of that province, renouncing his title of king of Hungary; a title vain above all others! since one part of the kingdom was possessed by the French, and the rest belonged to the Turks.

The great differences, which had so long troubled the peace of the North on account of Livonia, were there terminated. Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Muscovy, all disputed about this province; and yet in Germany it was looked upon as a province of the empire. Sigismund king of Sweden cedes all his possessions in Livonia to Maximilian; the rest is put under the protection of the king of Denmark: they unite to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Muscovites. The town of Lubec is comprehended in this treaty as a principal party. All its commercial privileges with Sweden and Denmark are confirmed. This town became still more powerful.

The Venetians, whom the Turks were every day despoiling of some town or other, had made a league with the pope and the king of Spain. The emperor refuses to come into it, fearing to bring the Ottoman forces into Hungary, and Philip II. accedes merely through form.

The governor of the Milanese raises troops to enable him to seize upon the marquisate of Final, belonging to the house of Caretto. The Genoese had also an eye upon this spot of ground, and were troublesome to the proprietor of it. France might have assisted them. The marquis of Caretto was at Vienna, where, in quality of vassal of the empire, he demanded justice; and in the mean time Philip II. seizes upon his dominions, finding easily means of prevailing in the imperial council.

After

After the death of Sigiſmund II. king of Poland, the laſt of the race of Jagellon, Maximilian underhand makes intereſt for the throne, which he flatters himſelf the republic of Poland will offer him by ambaſſy. 1572.

The ſecret intrigues of Maximilian prove fruitleſs; for the republic, looking upon their throne to be worth the trouble of aſking for, ſend no embaſſy.

The duke of Anjou, one of the competitors, is elected on the firſt of May, to the great diſcontent of the Proteſtant princes of Germany, who cannot, without horror, behold ſo near them a man ſtained with blood in the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew. 1573.

The prince of Orange, who ſupported himſelf in the Low Countries by his valour and reputation againſt all the power of Philip II. holds an aſſembly of the lords and deputies from the principal towns of his party at Dordrecht, whither the emperor ſends an imperial commiſſary, apparently to ſupport the majeſty of the empire, and manage an accommodation between Philip and the confederates. 1574.

Maximilian cauſes his eldeſt ſon Rodolphus to be elected king of the Romans in the diet of Ratiſbon. Through long cuſtom, apprehenſion of the Turks, and the convenience of having a chief able to ſupport the imperial dignity by his own power, the poſſeſſion of the imperial throne became neceſſarily lodged in the houſe of Auſtria. 1575.

The princes of the empire were not leſs maſters of their own rights. The elector Palatine furniſhed troops to the Calviniſts of France, while thoſe of the Low Countries were aſſiſted by other princes.

The crown of France devolving to the duke of Anjou king of Poland by the death of Charles IX. he quits Poland as if he fled from a priſon; and that throne being conſequently declared vacant, Maximilian at length has the credit to get himſelf elected king of Poland on the 15th of December.

But an oppoſing faction put a moſt atrocious affront upon Maximilian, proclaiming king, Stephen Battori

Vaivod of Tranſilvania, the ſultan's vaſſal; a man looked upon in the court of Vienna as a rebel and an uſurper. The Polanders marry him to the ſiſter of Sigiſmund Auguſtus, the laſt of the blood of the Jagellons.

John Czar of Muſcovy offers to take the part of Maximilian, hoping thereby to regain Livonia. The court of Muſcovy, unpoliſhed as it was in thoſe days, had nevertheleſs the ſame views it has ſo glorioufly manifeſted in theſe.

The Ottoman court threatens to ſide with Stephen Battori againſt the emperor. Thus politics appear to have been then the ſame that they are now.

Maximilian endeavours to engage the emperor in his quarrel; but the Proteſtants inſtead of aſſiſting him to become more powerful, content themſelves with ſoliciting in the diet free liberty for the Proteſtant nobleſſe of the eccleſiaſtical countries publicly to profeſs the Augſburg confeſſion.

Maximilian, uncertain of being able to ſupport his election to the crown of Poland, departs this life on the 12th of Auguſt, aged 49.

1576.

RODOLPHUS II.

FORTY-FOURTH EMPEROR.

1577.

RODOLPHUS, who had been crowned king of the Romans in the life of his father, holds the reins of the empire with a feeble hand. There were no other articles than thoſe of Charles V. In the diets all things were conducted as uſual. There were the ſame manners, the ſame intereſt, and the ſame form of government ſtill prevailed. Rodolphus barely promiſes, in the firſt diet held at Frankfort, to conform himſelf to the regulations of the preceding diets. It is remarkable, that in this diet the German princes propoſed the appeaſing the diſturbances in the Low Countries by curtailing the authority, as well as the ſeverity of Phi-

lip

lip II. ſhewing thereby that the intereſts of the princes and lords of Flanders were very dear to them, and that they would endeavour, as much as poſſible, to prevent the eldeſt branch of Auſtria from oppreſſing its vaſſals, whereby it ſet an example to the younger to tyrannize over theirs.

Such was the ſpirit of the Germanic body; and it was evident that the emperor Rodolphus was not more abſolute than Maximilian, ſince he could not prevent his brother, the archduke Matthias, from accepting the government of the Low Countries, on account of the confederates, who are armed againſt Philip II. ſo that on the one hand is ſeen don John of Auſtria, natural ſon to Charles V. governing Flanders in the name of Philip II. and the rebels headed on the other by his nephew Matthias. The emperor remains neuter, while Germany furniſhes each ſide with mercenaries.

Rodolphus is not more diſturbed by the irruptions which the Muſcovites made at that time in Livonia.

The Low Countries become a theatre of war, confuſion, and politics. Philip II. in having neglected to endeavour the reſtoration of order in proper time, as Charles V. would have done, commits a fault never to be repaired. The archduke Matthias, contributing ſcarcely more than his name to the cauſe of the confederates, had leſs power than the prince of Orange, while the prince of Orange had not ſufficient to ſend him aſſiſtance. The prince Palatine Caſimir, tutor to the young elector Frederic IV. who had marched into France with a little army, to the aſſiſtance of the Proteſtants, comes with the remainder of this army, and ſome new troops, to aſſiſt theirs and the cauſe of the revolters in the Low Countries. The brother of Henry III. king of France, who bore the title of duke of Anjou, although a Catholic, was called in to the aſſiſtance of the confederates. Thus there were four powers endeavouring each to profit by theſe diſturbances; the archduke, prince Caſimir, the duke of Anjou, and the prince of Orange, the whole four diſunited; and don John of Auſtria, famous for the battle of Lepanto, ſingly oppoſed them all. It is advanced, 1578.

that this ſame don John aſpired to the ſovereignty. So many troubles ſprung from Philip's having abuſed his power, and his not having ſupported that abuſe by his preſence.

Without any proof whatſoever, and purely from a deſire of rendering him odious, Philip II. is accuſed of having haſtened the death of his brother, don John of Auſtria, who departed this life on the firſt of October.

During the deſolation of the Low Countries, and while that great commander, Alexander Far-
1579. neſe prince of Parma, ſucceſſor of don John, ſupports the cauſe of Philip II. and of the Catholic religion, by arms, Rodolphus, like his father, takes up the office of mediator. The crown of France, and Elizabeth queen of England, furniſh the confederates with men and money, and the emperor aſſiſts Philip only by good offices, which are ineffectual. Rodolphus was not ſufficiently efficacious for his character, nor was he ſufficiently powerful from the form, which the empire had taken. His mediation is eluded by both parties. The inflexible Philip II. abſolutely refuſes liberty of conſcience; and the prince of Orange chooſes not to accept of a peace, which would reduce him to the character of a private man.

The prince of Orange had found the ſecret of reſiſting Farneſe, and to rid himſelf of the arch-
1580. duke Matthias. This archduke lays down his equivocal government, and demands a penſion from the ſtates, which they aſſign him upon the epiſcopal revenues of Utrecht.

Matthias withdraws from the Low Countries, having done nothing but ſtipulated for his penſion,
1581. one half of which they retrench. The ſtates-general, by a public edict, dated July 26. in a legal manner throw off the government of the king of Spain, but do not deny their belonging to the empire. Their ſituation, in reſpect of Germany, remains undetermined; and the duke of Anjou, who had been elected duke of Brabant, endeavouring to enſlave the nation that he came to defend, is diſconcerted and obliged to retire

ire in the year 1583, leaving the prince of Orange more powerful than ever.

Pope Gregory XIII. having ſignalized his pontificate by reforming the calendar, the Proteſtant princes, not only of Germany, but of all Europe, oppoſe the reception of this neceſſary reformation. They had no other reaſon for it, but that of its being Rome that adminiſtered this ſervice. They feared making that court appear too reſpectable, ſhould they receive inſtructions from it; and that, ſhould the people receive aſtronomical laws from it, they perhaps would not refuſe its religious ones. The emperor is obliged, in the diet of Augſburgh, to appoint the imperial chamber to obſerve the Julian ſtile, made in the time of Cæſar, which, though it had been then good, was now bad. 1582.

A very extraordinary event diſturbs the empire this year. Gebhard de Truchſes, archbiſhop of Cologne, who was no prieſt, had embraced the confeſſion of Augſburg, and at Bonn was privately married to Agnes de Mansfield, a nun of the monaſtery of Guerichen. It was no extraordinary thing for a biſhop to marry; but this biſhop was an elector: he wanted to eſpouſe his wife publicly, and to keep his electorate. An electorate is certainly a ſecular dignity. It might have happened very eaſily, that the electorate of Cologne had been divided from the archbiſhopric; that the prelate had been at the ſame time a Lutheran biſhop and an elector. At that time the only Catholic electors were, the king of Bohemia, the archbiſhops of Mentz and of Triers. The empire ſeems well nigh falling into the hands of the Proteſtants, and that alone might have given a new face to the affairs of Europe.

Gebhard de Truchſes endeavours, without ſucceſs, to introduce Lutheraniſm in Cologne. The chapter and ſenate were much more attached to the Catholic religion, ſharing, in a great meaſure, the ſovereignty with the elector, which they were afraid to loſe. In effect, the elector, though a ſovereign, was far from being abſolute. Cologne is an imperial town, governed by its magiſtrates.

Soldiers are raiſed on every ſide, and the archbiſhop fights for his miſtreſs with ſucceſs.

The Proteſtant princes take part with the elector of Cologne. The elector Palatine, and the 1583. electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, write in his favour to the emperor, to the chapter and ſenate of Cologne; but proceeded no farther: and as they had no perſonal intereſt that ſhould induce them to make war on account of this marriage, at leaſt at preſent, they do not.

Truchſes is only aſſiſted by ſome petty princes. The archbiſhop of Bremen, who had married as well as he, brings ſome cavalry to his aſſiſtance. The count de Solmes, and ſome Lutheran gentlemen of Weſtphalia, ſend him troops in the heat of the diſpute. The prince of Parma, on the other hand, ſends in his favour to the chapter. A canon of the ancient houſe of Saxony, which is the ſame as that of Brunſwick, commands the army of the chapter, and pretends it is an holy war.

The elector of Cologne, having now nothing to care for, celebrates his marriage publicly at Roſendale, during this petty war. The emperor Rodolphus concerned himſelf no farther in this affair, than in exhorting the archbiſhop to quit his church and his electorate; but he determines to preſerve both his nun and his religion.

Pope Gregory XIII. excommunicates him as a rotten member, and orders the election of a new archbiſhop. This bull of the pope cauſes the Proteſtant princes to rebel; but they only make ſome motions. Erneſt of Bavaria, biſhop of Liege, of Friſinguen, and Hildeſheim, is choſen elector of Cologne, and maintains his election by force of arms.

The prince Palatine, Caſimir, is the only perſon who at that time aſſiſts the dethroned elector, and even that was for a very ſhort time. The town of Bonn was very ſoon the only one which Truchſes could call his own. The troops, which had been ſent by the duke of Parma, join his rival, and lay ſiege to Bonn, which is ſoon obliged to ſurrender.

The

The old elector ſtill wreſtles with his ill fortune: he has ſome few troops left: theſe are defeated; and at length, being neither ſufficiently able nor happy to arm any conſiderable potentates in his favour, he has no other reſource but that of retiring to the Hague, where, under the protection of the prince of Orange, he leads a life even beneath indifferent. The interior parts of the empire are at peace. The Catholics in general acknowledge the new calendar. The treaty with the Turks is prolonged, but, in truth, at the expence of a tribute; and Rodolphus imagines himſelf happy enough in being able to purchaſe peace from Amurath III. 1584.

Led by the example of Gebhard de Truchſes, two other biſhops renounce their biſhoprics; the one is a ſon of William duke of Cleves, who quits the dioceſe of Munſter that he may be able to marry; the other is the biſhop of Minden, of the houſe of Brunſwick. 1585.

Fanaticiſm does that for Philip II. which he had vainly endeavoured for through a ten years war; that is, delivers him from the prince of Orange. 1586.

This illuſtrious founder of the liberty of the United Provinces is aſſaſſinated by Balthazar Gerrard, a native of Franché-comté. An attempt of this nature had been before eſſayed by a Biſcayan named Jaurigni; but he was cured of the wound. Salcedo had conſpired againſt his life; and it is obſervable, that Jaurigni and Gerrard had received the ſacrament as preparatives to this action.

Maurice II's ſon ſucceeds him at the age of eighteen. It was he who afterwards became the greateſt general in Europe. The Proteſtant princes of Germany give him no aſſiſtance, though it was for the intereſt of their religion; but they ſend troops into France to the king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. becauſe the Calviniſt party in France were able to pay their ſoldiers, and Maurice was not.

Prince Maurice ſtill continues the war in the Low Countries againſt Alexander Farneſe. He
1587. levies ſome troops among the Proteſtants of Germany, at the expence of the ſtates of Holland. This was all the ſuccour that he could poſſibly procure.

A new throne offers itſelf to the houſe of Auſtria; which honour contributes to ſhew ſtill more how very low was the credit of Rodolphus.

Stephen Batori, vaivode of Tranſilvania and king of Poland, dying on the 13th of December 1586, Fedor czar of Muſcovy enters the liſts to ſucceed him; but is unanimouſly rejected. One faction declares for Sigiſmund king of Sweden, ſon to John III. by a princeſs of the blood of the Jagellons; another faction proclaims the emperor's brother Maximilian. They both march into Poland at the head of their troops. Maximilian, being defeated, retires to Sileſia, while his competitor is crowned.

Maximilian is a ſecond time defeated by Zamoſki the Poliſh general: he is ſhut up in a caſtle near
1588. Lublin, and his brother Rodolphus can do no more for him, than intreat Philip II. to engage pope Sixtus V. to write in favour of the priſoner.

Maximilian is at laſt ſet at liberty, having renounced all title to the kingdom of Poland: he has
1589. an interview with Sigiſmund before his departure. It is remarkable, that the title of majeſty was not given him, becauſe in Germany it was taken by none but the emperor.

The only event which now regards the empire is the war in the Low Countries, which lays waſte
1590. the frontiers on the banks of the Rhine and the neighbourhood of Weſtphalia. The circles of theſe provinces content themſelves with complaining of each party. The languid ſpirit of the head had by this time infected the members of the empire.

Henry

Henry IV. who had his kingdom of France to conquer, ſends viſcount Turenne into Germany, to bargain for troops with ſome of the Proteſtant princes. The emperor vainly oppoſes him. Chriſtiern elector of Saxony, influenced by viſcount Turenne, ſupplies him both with men and money; but he died while this army was on the road to France, whereby only an inconſiderable part of it reached that kingdom. Nothing material beſides happened at this time in Germany. 1591.

A civil war is occaſioned by a nomination to the biſhopric of Straſburg, as had very lately happened at Cologne upon a very different account. The people of Straſburg were Proteſtants: their biſhop, who reſided at Saverne, and was a Catholic, dies. The Proteſtants elect John George of Brandenburg, a Lutheran; the Catholics chooſe the cardinal of Lorraine. The emperor Rodolphus appoints by commiſſion one of his brothers, the archduke Ferdinand, to appeaſe the difference, and conduct the adminiſtration. He is acknowledged neither by Catholics nor Proteſtants. The cardinal of Lorraine ſupports his right at the head of 10,000 men. The cantons of Berne, Zurich, and of Baſil, furniſh troops to the Proteſtant biſhop. They are joined by a prince of Anhalt, who returned from France, where he had ſerved unſucceſsfully Henry IV. This prince of Anhalt defeats the cardinal of Lorraine. This affair is put into arbitration the following year; and in the year 1603 it was at laſt agreed, that the cardinal of Lorraine ſhould remain biſhop of Straſburg, paying 130,000 golden crowns to John George of Brandenburg. It was hardly poſſible to purchaſe a biſhopric at a much dearer rate. 1592.

A much more conſiderable affair rouzes the indifference of Rodolphus. Amurath III. breaks the league, and the Turks already lay waſte Upper Hungary. The duke of Bavaria and the archbiſhop of Saltzburg are the only perſons who as yet furniſh the emperor with troops, joining theirs to thoſe that are ſupplied by the emperor's hereditary dominions. 1593.

Ferdinand,

Ferdinand, brother of Rodolphus, had by his firſt wife, who was daughter to a ſenator of Augſburg, a ſon, named Charles of Auſtria. This ſon was never acknowledged to be a prince; but no man better deſerved to be one. A conſiderable body of troops were under his command. A count, Montecuculi, led another party. This was a name, the owners of which ſeemed to be ordained to fight ſucceſsfully for the houſe of Auſtria. The Serini, the Nadaſtis, and the Palſis, headed the Hungarian militia. The Turks were worſted in ſeveral engagements, and the Upper Hungary at length ſecured, Buda excepted, which ſtill remained in the hands of the Ottomans.

The Turks had taken the field about the month of June, and Rodolphus held a diet at Augſ-
1594. burg, to conſult upon meaſures of oppoſition. Is it credible that a box was put up in all the churches of Germany for charitable contributions? This is the firſt inſtance of a war being ſupported by alms. However, the Imperial and Hungarian troops, though but indifferently paid, ſtill fight with great courage. The command of this army is conferred on the archduke Matthias, by his own deſire. He is joined by the archduke Maximilian, who, in the name of the emperor his brother, governs Carinthia and Croatia. Theſe cannot hinder the Turks from taking the town of Javarin.

Happily for the Imperialiſts, Sigiſmund Batori, vaivode of Tranſilvania, ſhakes off the Turkiſh for
1595. the Imperial yoke. We often ſee princes change ſides, obliged by the neceſſity of their affairs to attach themſelves to the more powerful of two protectors. Batori ſwears fidelity, and does homage to the emperor for Tranſilvania and ſome poſſeſſions in Hungary. He agrees, that in caſe he ſhall die without male iſſue, his dominions ſhall devolve to the emperor as king of Hungary; and in return, he is promiſed in marriage to Chriſtina, daughter to the archduke Charles, together with the title of Moſt Illuſtrious, and the order of the Golden Fleece.

The

The campaign was very happy; but the church-boxes ſet up for the payment of the army not being filled, the Imperial troops riſe and pillage part of that country which they had been deſtined to defend.

The archduke Maximilian commands this year againſt the Turks. The new ſultan, Mahomet III. enters Hungary in perſon, and lays ſiege to 1596. Agria, which ſurrenders upon conditions; but the garriſon is maſſacred going out of the town; and Mahomet, enraged againſt the aga of the janizaries, for having countenanced the perfidy, orders his head to be ſtruck off.

Mahomet defeats Maximilian in battle on the 26th of October.

While the emperor Rodolphus remains at Vienna, employed in diſtillation, chemiſtry, and ſearching after the philoſopher's ſtone, while his brother Maximilian is beaten by the Turks, while Matthias meditates the founding his own greatneſs upon the ſluggiſhneſs of Rodolphus, one of his brothers, called Albert, who had obtained a cardinal's cap, and of whom before this time we have ſcarce heard any mention, is made governor of ſuch part of the Low Countries as remains in the hands of Philip II. He had in this government ſucceeded the archduke Erneſt, another of his brothers, who died after having poſſeſſed it upwards of two years, without having done any one thing remarkable. Very different was the conduct of cardinal Albert of Auſtria, who made war upon Henry IV. with whom Philip II. had been at perpetual variance ever ſince the death of Henry III. He takes Calais and Ardres.

Henry IV. after much difficulty conqueror of the league, ſeeks the aſſiſtance of the Proteſtant princes, which not obtaining, he is forced to defend himſelf.

The Turks are ſtill in Hungary. There is a riſing of the peaſants of Auſtria, harraſſed by the Imperial troops, and thereby they give a 1597. helping hand to the deſolation of the country. There is a neceſſity for ſending ſome diſciplined troops againſt them. This was a favourable opportunity for the Turks; but by ſome ſtrange fatality the

Upper

Upper Hungary was always the boundary of their progreſs. The Imperial army this year owes its ſafety to a revolt of the janizaries.

1598. The county of Simeren, by the death of the laſt incumbent, falls to the elector Palatine.

Philip II. king of Spain, dies, aged 72, after a reign of 42 years. He had long diſturbed part of Europe, nor had his uncle Ferdinand, his couſin Maximilian, nor his nephew Rodolphus, ever forwarded his deſigns, neither had he in the leaſt contributed to their grandeur. Some time before his death, he had given the Low Countries to the Infanta Iſabella, his daughter, as a portion in marrying the cardinal archduke Albert. This was depriving his ſon Philip III. and the crown of Spain of a moſt beautiful province. But the troubles, which had waſted it for ſome time, had rendered it a burdenſome poſſeſſion: however, it was ſtipulated, that it ſhould revert to the Spaniſh crown in caſe of the failure of male iſſue in the arch-duke Albert, which happened to be the caſe.

The driving the Turks out of Upper Hungary, begins to be matter of deliberation. The diet grants towards the ſupport of this war 20 Roman months.

The ſame Sigiſmund Batori, who had renounced the Turkiſh protection, and done homage to the emperor for Tranſilvania, repents of his proceedings. The ſame territories which had belonged to the queen, mother of Srephen John Sigiſmund; that is to ſay, Oppelen, and Ratibor in Sileſia, were given him in exchange for his ſovereignty and for Walachia. He was as little ſatisfied with his bargain, as that queen had been. He abandons Sileſia, and re enters his former dominions; but always inconſtant and weak, he cedes them to a cardinal who was his couſin. This cardinal, by name Andrew Batori, immediately puts himſelf under the protection of the Turks, and receives a veſt from the Sultan, as a mark of that favour he ſolicited. Martinuſius like, he puts himſelf at the head of an army, but is killed in an engagement againſt the Imperialiſts.

By

By the death of cardinal Batori, and the flight of Sigiſmund, Tranſilvania is left in the hands of the emperor, while Hungary continues to be waſted by the Turks. Thoſe who are aſtoniſhed to ſee at this day, ſuch a fertile country ſo thinly peopled, will find it eaſily accounted for, when they conſider the numbers of inhabitants of both ſexes which the Turks carried into ſlavery. 1599.

This year, the emperor reſolves at laſt to affranchiſe Wirtemberg, from the infeofment of Auſtria. Wirtemberg is held only of the empire, but in caſe the heirs ſhould fail, it was always to return to the houſe of Auſtria.

The Turks advance as far as Caniſa upon the Drave, on the ſide of Stiria. The duke de Mercœur, a famous prince of the houſe of Lorrain, could not prevent this ſtrong palace from being taken. The people of Tranſilvania and Valachia refuſe to acknowledge the emperor. 1600.

The fortune of Sigiſmund Batori is as inconſtant as himſelf. He once more enters Tranſilvania, but is defeated by the imperial party. Theſe provinces are the ſeats of continual revolutions. Happily the very ſame duke de Mercœur, who could neither preſerve nor recover Caniſa from the Turks, takes Alba Regalis. 1601.

At length the archduke Matthias, more active than his brother, and aſſiſted by the duke de Mercœur, makes an incurſion as far as Buda, which he beſieges to no purpoſe; all which cauſes a ruinous war at the charge of the emperor and the empire. 1602.

Sigiſmund Batori is ſtill more unfortunate. Spurned by the Turks, who refuſe him aſſiſtance, he ſurrenders at diſcretion to the imperial troops; and this prince, who was to have married an archdutcheſs, is at length even too happy in being a baron in Bohemia, with but an indifferent penſion.

Some unaccountable fatality always puts a ſtop to the Turkiſh conqueſts. Mahomet III. who threatened to command a formidable army againſt Hungary in perſon, dies in the flower 1603.

of

of his age. Achmet his ſon, a youth only 13 years old, is raiſed to the Ottoman throne. Factions diſturb the Seraglio, and the war in Hungary dies away.

The diet of Ratiſbon promiſes this time 80 Roman months. The empire had never before granted ſo powerful a ſuccour; but, alas! it was furniſhed in ſcarce any thing but words.

This year Lubec, Dantzic, Cologne, Hamburg, and Bremen, the old Hans towns of Germany, obtain in France thoſe liberties they pretend to have been formerly theirs, but which time had taken from them. The merchants of theſe towns are exempted from all right of Eſcheatage, and ſtill enjoy the immunity. Events of this nature are not the moſt remarkable, but they contribute to the public good.

The emperor is near loſing that part of Upper Hungary which remains to him. This was occaſioned by the exactions of a governor of Caſobia, who having extorted money from an Hungarian lord named Botſkai, the latter revolted, and his example influences part of the army. He declares himſelf lord of Upper Hungary, without daring to take the title of king. 1604.

The Turks and the rebel Botſkai had taken all Hungary from the emperor, Preſburg only excepted. The grand viſier was in the town of Peſt. Botſkai cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed prince of Tranſilvania, and receives the crown of Hungary, from the hands of the grand viſier, with great ſolemnity, at Peſt. The archduke Matthias is obliged to make an accommodation with the Hungarian lords, in order, if poſſible, to preſerve the remainder of that country. It was ſtipulated, that for the future the ſtates of Hungary, who had always elected their king, ſhould themſelves elect their governor in the name of their king. The nomination to biſhoprics was a right inveſted in the crown; but the ſtates now article, that none but Hungarians ſhall be made biſhops; and that ſuch biſhops as are named by the emperor, ſhall have no ſhare in the government of 1605.

the

the kingdom. Notwithſtanding theſe and ſome other conceſſions, the archduke Matthias obtains the ceſſion of Tranſilvania from Botſkai, who alſo keeps no more of Hungary than the crown of gold which he had received from the grand viſier. The Hungarians expreſsly article, that Lutheraniſm and Calviniſm ſhall be freely tolerated amongſt them.

Under the weak government of Rodolphus, Germany was nevertheleſs pretty quiet. The inteſtine wars, that happened in it during that reign, were very trivial; ſuch as the duke of Brunſwick endeavouring to ſubdue the town of Brunſwick, and the duke of Bavaria ſtriving to reduce Donawert. The duke of Bavaria being rich and powerful, obtains his end at Donawert; but the duke of Brunſwick could not prevail againſt Brunſwick, which remained a long time a free and imperial town, being ſupported by the Teutonic hanſe. The great trading towns could at that time eaſily defend themſelves againſt the princes. It is well known that they levied troops only in caſe of war. Theſe occaſional militias of princes and towns were equally bad. But things have worn a very different face, ſince princes have found the way of keeping regular troops always on foot.

Germany was in other reſpects peaceable, in ſpite of the three contending religions, in ſpite of the troubles in Hungary and Tranſilvania, and the wars in the Low Countries, which inceſſantly harraſſed the frontiers. The weakneſs of Rodolphus in Germany, was of a very different nature, from that of Henry III. in France. All the lords under Henry III. would, if poſſible, have been independent and powerful; they were troubleſome in all things; but the German lords were that in reality, at which the French lords aſpired.

The archduke Matthias treats ineffectually with the Turks. So many treaties with the Turks, Hungarians, and Tranſilvanians, were only the ſeeds of new troubles. The Tranſilvanians after the death of Botſkai, notwithſtanding their treaties with the emperor, chuſe Sigiſmund Ragotſki as Vaivode, and the emperor permits it. 1606.

Rodolphus,

Rodolphus, who had purchaſed peace ſo dearly at home, endeavours to reſtore it to the Low
1607, Countries by treaty, which could be only
1608. done, as formerly had been in Hungary, at the expence of the Spaniſh branch of Auſtria.

The famous union of Utrecht, dated 1579, was too powerful to be infringed. The States General of the ſeven united provinces were to be acknowledged free and independent. The ſeven united provinces required this authentic acknowledgment chiefly from Spain. Rodolphus writes to them thus: 'You are ſtates holding of the empire; your conſtitution cannot alter, without the conſent of the emperor, who is your head." The States General ſent no manner of reply to this letter. They continue to treat with Spain, who at length acknowledges their independence in the year 1609.

In the mean time the peaceful and philoſophical indifference of Rodolphus, which would have ſat much better on a private man than an emperor, encouraged the ambition of the archduke Matthias his brother, who deviſed making himſelf ſovereign of Hungary, Auſtria, and Bohemia, the government of which was neglected by Rodolphus, to whom he intended leaving barely the title of emperor. Hungary was almoſt intirely overrun by the Turks, and torn in pieces by factions, Auſtria expoſed, and Bohemia diſcontented. The inconſtant Batori, was, by a new turn of fortune, re-eſtabliſhed in Tranſilvania, reſtored by the votes of the people, and the protection of the Sultan. Matthias treats with Batori, with the Turks, and with the malecontents of Hungary. The ſtates of Auſtria had furniſhed him with a great deal of money. He was at the head of an army of which he took all imaginable care; the fruits of which he intended to reap.

The emperor learns the deſigns of his brother at Prague, whither he had retired; has ſome fears concerning his own ſafety, and raiſes a few troops in haſte. Matthias his brother throws off the maſk, and marches towards Prague. The Proteſtants of Bohemia lay hold of this critical time to inſiſt upon new privileges from Rodolphus, whom they otherwiſe threaten to quit.

They

They obtain that the Catholic clergy ſhall have no concern with civil affairs, nor any acquiſition of lands without the conſent of the ſtates; that all places of truſt ſhall be diſpoſed of in favour of Proteſtants. This condeſcenſion of the emperor irritates the Catholics, and he finds himſelf obliged to receive laws from his brother.

On the 11th of May he cedes Hungary, Auſtria, and Moravia, to Matthias, reſerving to himſelf, in this melancholy bargain, barely the profits without the property of Bohemia, and the ſovereignty of Sileſia. Thus does he ſtrip himſelf of all that he had ſo weakly governed, and which he could no longer keep. His brother only acquires in the end new embarraſſments. He was fain to agree with the Proteſtants of Auſtria, who, ſword in hand, demanded from their new maſter, a free exerciſe of their religion, to which he was obliged to conſent, at leaſt out of the towns. He was alſo compelled to make it up with the Hungarians, who inſiſted, that no Germans ſhould bear a public truſt among them. Matthias was obliged to deprive the Germans in Hungary of their employments. Thus did he ſtrive to confirm his own power, that he might in time be able to reſiſt that of the Turks.

The more the Proteſtant religion gained ground in Auſtria, the more powerful it became in Germany. The ſucceſſion of Cleves and Juliers 1609. roufed to arms the two parties, who had, as it were, ſlumbered ſince the peace of Paſſau. From hence ſprung a Proteſtant league more dangerous than that of Smalcald, which gave riſe to a Catholic one. Theſe two parties were ready to ruin the empire.

The houſes of Brandenburg, of Neuburg, of Deux-ponts, of Saxony, and at laſt Charles of Auſtria, marquis of Burgau, diſpute about the inheritance of John William the laſt duke of Cleves, Berg, and Juliers, who died without children.

The emperor thought to reconcile the different pretenders, by ſequeſtering the lands about which they diſputed. He ſends the archduke Leopold his couſin, to take poſſeſſion of the duchy of Cleves, but at length

two

two of the competitors, John Sigiſmund elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Neuburg unite to oppoſe him. The affair at length produces a quarrel between the Proteſtant princes and the houſe of Auſtria. The princes of Brandenburg and of Neuburg are already in poſſeſſion, and united by the danger that might enſue, from the diviſion of their intereſt, being backed by Frederic IV. elector Palatine, ſolicit the aid of Henry IV. of France.

At this time was formed the two oppoſing leagues; the Proteſtants ſupporting the houſes of Brandenburg and Neuburg, the Catholics that of Auſtria. Frederic IV. elector Palatine, although a Calviniſt, headed the confederates of the Augſburg confeſſion, which conſiſted of the duke of Wirtemberg, the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, the margrave of Anſpach, the margrave of Baden-dourlach, the prince of Anhalt, and ſeveral imperial towns. This party aſſumed the name of The Evangelic Union.

The chiefs of the Catholic league which oppoſed this, were Maximilian duke of Bavaria, the Catholic electors, and all the princes of that communion. The elector of Saxony alſo joined this party, although he was a Lutheran, in hopes of obtaining the inveſtiture of the duchies of Cleves and Juliers. The landgrave of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, although a Proteſtant joined the Catholic league. He had no manner of reaſon to make this quarrel a quarrel of religion; but religion was a name that each party made uſe of to animate the people. The Catholic league makes pope Paul V. and Philip III. king of Spain join it, and Henry IV. attaches himſelf to the Evangelic Union; with this difference, that the pope and king of Spain lend only their names, while Henry IV. marches into Germany at the head of a victorious well-diſciplined army, which had deſtroyed one Catholic league already.

Theſe words of raillery, Catholic, Evangelical, and the name of Pope, uſed in a profane quarrel,
1610. were the true and only cauſe of the aſſaſſination of Henry IV. who it is well known fell on the 14th of May in the middle of Paris, the victim of

of a weak, furious fanatic. It appears undoubtedly, from the examination of Ravaillac, who had been before a friar, that he aſſaſſinated Henry IV. becauſe it was every where ſaid, "That he was going to make war againſt the Pope."

All Henry IV's great deſigns periſhed with him. However, there ſtill remained ſome maſter-ſprings of that great machine which he had ſet in motion. The Proteſtant league was not deſtroyed. Some French troops under the command of marſhal de la Châtre, ſupport the parties of Brandenburg and Neuburg. In vain does the emperor adjudge Cleves and Juliers by proviſion to the elector of Saxony, in caſe he proves his right. The marſhal de la Châtre nevertheleſs takes Juliers, and drives out the forces of the archduke Leopold. Juliers remains for ſome time in common to Brandenburg and Neuburg.

The extreme confuſion which at this time reigned in Germany, plainly ſhews what Henry IV. might have done, had he ſurvived. Rodol- 1611.
phus the philoſopher remains ſtill at Prague.
The archduke Leopold, with his ill-paid army, driven out of Juliers, retires into Bohemia, where he ſubſiſts it upon plunder. He there uſurps all the authority of the emperor, who ſees himſelf plundered on every ſide by the princes of his own family. Matthias, who had already forced his brother to part with ſo many dominions, won't however let any one elſe plunder the chief of his family. He comes to Prague with his troops, and forces his brother to intreat the ſtates to crown him, *thro' exceſs of fraternal affection.*

Matthias is crowned king of Bohemia, on the 21ſt of May, of which place there remains to Rodolphus only the title of king, as unprofitable for him as that of emperor.

Rodolphus dies on the 20th of January, according to the Gregorian Calendar. He had never been inclined to marry. His houſe, the power of 1612.
which had been ſo vaſtly feared, was ſcarcely held in any eſtimation in Europe, from the beginning of the 17th century, and this was occaſioned by his careleſſneſs

leſſneſs and the weakneſs of Philip III. in Spain. Rodolphus had loſt his poſſeſſions, but he had ſaved his money. It is ſaid there were 14,000,000 of crowns found in his exchequer. This diſcovered a meanneſs of ſoul. With theſe 14 millions and courage, he might have retaken Buda from the Turks, and made the empire reſpectable. But his character adapted him to the living like a private man upon a throne, and he was happier than thoſe who plundered and deſpiſed him *.

MATTHIAS.

Forty-fifth Emperor.

1612.

MATTHIAS the brother of Rodolphus is unanimouſly elected, and this unanimity aſtoniſhes Europe, but he had been enriched by the treaſures of his brother, and the near neighbourhood of the Turks made it neceſſary to elect a prince of the houſe of Auſtria, king of Hungary.

Even to that time, the capitulation of Charles V. had never been augmented: therein there were ſome articles in favour of Matthias, whoſe ambition was ſufficiently manifeſt.

Hungary and Tranſilvania continued ſtill in the ſame condition. The emperor had ſome ſmall poſſeſſions in the neighbourhood of Preſburg, and Gabriel Batori, the new prince of Tranſilvania, was the ſultan's vaſſal.

The two great leagues catholic and evangelical, which had once threatened the empire with
1613. a civil war, appear to be diſſolved with the death of Henry IV. The Proteſtants barely content themſelves with refuſing money in the diets to the emperor. The quarrel about the ſucceſſion of Juliers, which it was once thought would have inflamed all

* He is ſaid to have become melancholy and diſtruſtful, in conſequence of ſome idle prognoſtics of judicial aſtrology, broached by the celebrated Tycho Brahe.

all Europe, ſinks into one of thoſe particular trivial wars, which have always, at one time or other, perplexed certain cantons of the empire, without diſordering the Germanic body.

The duke of Neuburg, and the elector of Brandenburg, being put in poſſeſſion of Cleves and Juliers, were neceſſarily embroiled about the diviſion of them; nor did a box on the ear given by the elector of Brandenburg to the duke of Neuburg pacify the difference. Theſe two princes go to war. The duke of Neuburg becomes a Catholic, in hopes of thereby obtaining the protection of the emperor and the king of Spain. The elector of Brandenburg introduces Calviniſm into his territories, hoping thereby to rouſe the Proteſtant league to his aſſiſtance.

Mean-while, the other princes remain inactive; nor does the elector of Saxony himſelf ſtir, although there had been an imperial decree in his favour. The Spaniſh and Dutch Low Countries take part in the quarrel. Two great generals, the marquis de Spinola aſſiſts Neuburg on the part of Spain, count Maurice arms for Brandenburg on the part of the States General. It is one of the conſequences of the German conſtitution, that foreign powers are rather intereſted in their inteſtine quarrels, than Germany itſelf. The Germanic body was never ſhaken. Its interior peace had been often diſturbed by diſputes between town and town, princes and towns, towns and princes; but the Germanic body ſubſiſted by theſe diviſions, which in ſome meaſure founded an almoſt equal balance between its members.

The caſe was very different in Hungary and Tranſilvania. The emperor Matthias prepares to go againſt the Turks. Gabriel Battori, Vaivode of Tranſilvania, endeavours to keep fair as well with the Turkiſh as Chriſtian emperor. The Turks fall upon Battori. He is abandoned by his ſubjects, nor can the emperor aſſiſt him. Battori cauſes himſelf to be killed by one of his own ſoldiers. The only inſtance we have of ſuch a nature among modern princes Bethleem-gabor is inveſted by a Pacha. This province 1614.

ſeemed

ſeemed for ever loſt to the houſe of Auſtria. The new Sultan Achmet, maſter of ſo great a part of Hungary, and at the ſame time young and ambitious, began to make it feared, that neither Preſburg nor Vienna would limit the two empires. Theſe alarms had been frequent in the latter end of the reign of Rodolphus; but that prodigious extenſion of the Ottoman empire, which had ſo long given the Chriſtians uneaſineſs, was the cauſe of their ſafety. The Turks were often at war with the Perſians. Their frontiers upon the Black Sea ſuffered much from the revolting of the Georgians and Mingrelians. The Arabs were with difficulty kept within bounds, and it often happened, that the Turks, at the very ſame time that it was feared they would over-run Hungary and Italy, were obliged to patch up a diſadvantageous peace for the defence of their own dominions.

The emperor Matthias has the happineſs of concluding a treaty with Sultan Achmet, much more
1615. favourable than a war could poſſibly have been to him. He ſtipulates, without drawing the ſword, for the reſtitution of Agria, Caniſa, Alba-regalis, Peſt, and even Buda. Thus is he in poſſeſſion of almoſt all Hungary, leaving Tranſilvania and Bethleem-gabor under the Turkiſh protection. This treaty increaſes Matthias's power. The affair of the ſucceſſion of Juliers is almoſt the only thing that diſturbs the interior part of the empire; but Matthias keeps fair with the Proteſtant princes, by leaving this country ſtill divided between the Palatines of Neuburg and of Brandenburg. Prudence of this ſort was extremely neceſſary to continue the empire in the houſe of Auſtria.

Negotiations and intrigues ingroſs this and the following years. Matthias was childleſs, and had
1616. alſo loſt his health and his activity. In order to preſerve the empire in his family, it was neceſſary to ſecure Bohemia and Hungary. Theſe conjunctures were delicate; the ſtates of theſe two kingdoms were jealous of the rights of election: the ſpirit of party was predominant among them, but much more the ſpirit of independence: the difference of religions nouriſhed

riſhed diſcord, but the Proteſtants and Catholics were equally fond of their privileges. The princes of Germany were little diſpoſed to chooſe an Auſtrian emperor; and the Evangelical union, which ſtill ſubſiſted, left this houſe but ſmall hopes.

The firſt ſtep to be taken, was to ſecure the ſucceſſion of Bohemia and Hungary. Matthias had forced theſe two kingdoms from his brother, and was not at all inclined that his inheritance ſhould paſs to his remaining brothers Maximilian and Albert. There is not the leaſt gleam of their both having cordially renounced their rights. Albert, to whom the king of Spain had left the Low Countries, would have certainly been more able than another to ſupport the imperial dignity, had he reigned over Hungary and Bohemia. Matthias intended that theſe crowns ſhould deſcend to his couſin Ferdinand de Gratz duke of Stiria. Right of conſanguinity was but little conſulted.

Ferdinand is acknowledged and elected by the ſtates of Bohemia, as ſucceſſor to Matthias; according to which rank he is crowned king, 1617.
on the 29th of June. The Evangelical league begins to be frightened at ſeeing this firſt approach of Ferdinand de Gratz, towards the empire. Matthias and Ferdinand make the elector of Saxony, who does not belong to the Evangelical league, more uſeful than ever. He hoping to have Cleves, Berg, and Juliers, ſides in every thing with the houſe of Auſtria; the Palatine, having very different intereſts, continues ſtill at the head of the Proteſtants. This is the origin of that unhappy war between Ferdinand and the Palatine which enſued. This was that war of thirty years continuance which deſolated ſo many provinces, brought the Swedes into Germany, and at length produced the treaty of Weſtphalia, whereby the empire aſſumed a new face.

Matthias engages the Spaniſh branch of Auſtria, to renounce all the pretenſions which it could
poſſibly have upon Hungary and Bohemia. 1618.
Philip III. king of Spain, gives up his rights to theſe kingdoms in favour of Ferdinand, conditionally,

that in caſe of Ferdinand's dying without male iſſue, Hungary and Bohemia ſhall deſcend to his ſons or daughters, or to the children of his daughters, in the order of birthright. By this bargain theſe dominions might eaſily have fallen to France; for had a daughter of Philip III. inherited theſe kingdoms, and married a king of France, the eldeſt ſon of this king, would have been intitled to Hungary and Bohemia.

This family contract was evidently contrary to the will of the emperor Ferdinand I. The diſpoſitions that men make for eſtabliſhing the peace of futurity, are too often preparatives of diſcord. In fine, this new treaty cauſes the revolt of the Hungarians and Bohemians, who ſee themſelves diſpoſed of without being conſulted. The Proteſtants of Bohemia begin to aſſociate after the example of the Evangelical union. The Catholics were ſoon induced to join this party, ſince their civil rights had been infringed, independent of religion. Sileſia, that great fief of Bohemia, joins it. A civil war is kindled. The confederates are headed by count de Turm, otherwiſe de la Tour, a man of genius, who makes war regularly and advantageouſly; and they make progreſs even to the gates of Vienna.

In the midſt of this revolution, about the month of March, the emperor Matthias dies, without
1619. being at all able to foreſee the deſtiny of his houſe.

His couſin, Ferdinand de Gratz, was at length happy enough not to find any great oppoſition in Hungary, whence he had driven out the Turks by a treaty that made him very agreeable to that kingdom; but he beholds Bohemia, Sileſia, Moravia, and Luſatia leagued againſt him, the Proteſtants of Auſtria ready to revolt, and thoſe of Germany not at all diſpoſed to raiſe him to the empire. The houſe of Auſtria had never ſeen a moment more critical. Four electors, on the one hand, offer the imperial crown to Maximilian duke of Bavaria; the ſovereignty of Bohemia, on the other, is offered to the duke of Savoy, who being at too great a diſtance to obtain it, it is unfortunately accepted by the elector Palatine, Frederic V. In the mean time, there

here is a meeting at Francfort for the election of a king of the Romans, a king of Germany, and an emperor. Almoſt all the courts of Europe are attentive to this material point; the ſtates of Bohemia order their deputies at Francfort to exclude Ferdinand from the right of voting. They refuſe to acknowledge him for king, and conſequently intend to deprive him of his vote. He was not only threatened to be excluded from the imperial but even from the electoral dignity. He obtained both the one and the other. He not only gave his vote for the empire, but both Proteſtants and Catholics joined to give him theirs. Each elector was influenced in ſuch a manner, that he imagined the elevation of Ferdinand de Gratz his particular intereſt; even the elector Palatine to whom the ſtates of Bohemia had given their crown, was obliged to vote for him; which had he refuſed, it would have been to no purpoſe. This election was made on the 19th of Auguſt 1619. He is crowned at Aix-la-chapelle on the 9th of September; before which he ſigns a more extenſive capitulation * than any of his predeceſſors had done.

* Among the articles were two additional clauſes, importing, that he would never diſturb the vicars of the empire in the exerciſe of their juriſdiction, or permit any perſon whatſoever to diſpute the rights that depend upon their vicariate; and that he would never admit into the aulic council any other than princes, counts, and barons, born and bred in Germany, and well verſed in the conſtitutions of the empire. This article was intended to remedy an abuſe committed by the preceding emperors, who uſed to fill the aulic council with their creatures, in order to make their own party preponderate.

FERDINAND II.

Forty-sixth Emperor.

1619.

AT the ſame time that Ferdinand II. is veſted with the imperial dignity, the ſtates of Bohemia name the elector Palatine for king. This honour was now much more dangerous, than it had formerly been, on account of Ferdinand's being choſen emperor. This was a very critical time for the Proteſtants. Had Frederic been aſſiſted by his father-in-law, James I. king of England, he had been ſure of ſucceſs. James I. helped him only with advice, and this advice was to refuſe the crown. He pays no reſpect to it, but gives way to his fortune.

Frederic is ſolemnly crowned at Prague on the 4th of November, with the princeſs of England his wife; but the ceremony is performed by the miniſter of the Huſſites, and not by the archbiſhop of Prague.

This gives riſe to a war as well religious as political. All the Proteſtant princes, the elector of Saxony excepted, declare for Frederic. He had a few Engliſh troops in his army, ſent him by ſome of the Engliſh nobility, either through perſonal friendſhip † for him, and hatred of the Catholic religion, or from the glory of doing more than his father-in-law the king. He was ſeconded by the Vaivode of Tranſilvania, Bethleem Gabor, who attacked the ſame enemy in Hungary. Gabor penetrates even to the gates of Vienna, and thence goes back the ſame road to take Preſburg. Sileſia revolts againſt the emperor. The elector Palatine's party in Bohemia are ſupported by the count of Manſfelt; even the Proteſtants of Auſtria are troubleſome to the emperor. If the houſe of Bavaria, like that of Auſtria, had been always united, the new king of Bohemia would have had much the ſtronger party; but, though

† A few volunteers went over by the king's permiſſion, that they might have opportunities of ſignalizing their courage, and learning the art of war.

though the duke of Bavaria was both rich and powerful, he was far from contributing to the grandeur of the elder branch of his houſe. Jealouſy, ambition, and religion attached him to the emperor; ſo that what had been the fate of the houſe of Saxony under Charles V. was the ſame of that of Bavaria under Ferdinand de Gratz.

The Proteſtant and Catholic leagues were a little after, almoſt equally powerful in Germany; but Spain and Italy favour Ferdinand; furniſhing him with troops, as well as with money levied upon the clergy. France had forgot her old intereſts, and was not yet governed by a cardinal Richlieu. The court of Lewis XIII. weak and confuſed, ſeemed to have views (if we would ſuppoſe it to have had any) very different from the deſigns of Henry the great.

Lewis XIII. inſtead of marching with an army, ſends the duke d'Angouleme, at the head of a ſolemn embaſſy to offer his mediation. The 1620. princes aſſembled at Ulm liſten to him, but conclude upon nothing. The war in Bohemia continuing, Bethleem Gabor cauſes himſelf to be acknowledged king in Hungary, as Frederic V. had been in Bohemia. This revolution of the ſtates of Hungary was countenanced by a Turkiſh and a Venetian ambaſſador in the town of Neuhauſel. It is unuſual to ſee the Turks and Venetians thus united; but Venice was ſo intirely at variance with the Spaniſh branch of Auſtria, that ſhe openly declared herſelf againſt all of that houſe.

All Europe took part in this quarrel; but much rather by words than by actions. The emperor is much better ſeconded in Germany than the elector Palatine.

On the one hand, the elector of Saxony, who had declared for the emperor, enters Luſatia; on the other, the duke of Bavaria marches into Bohemia, with a powerful army, whilſt the emperor's forces make a ſhift to hold out in Hungary againſt Bethleem Gabor.

The Palatine is at one and the ſame time attacked both in his new kingdom of Bohemia and in his electorate, where Henry Frederic of Naſſau, the brother of, and afterwards ſucceſſor to, Maurice, the ſtadtholder of

the United Provinces, fights for him, where he has alſo ſome Engliſh; but againſt him are the choiceſt troops of the Spaniſh Low-countries, under the command of the famous Spinola. The Palatinate is ravaged. A battle in Bohemia decides the fate of Auſtria and the elector Palatine. On the 19th of November, Frederic is intirely defeated near Prague, by his relation Maximilian of Bavaria. He at length takes refuge in Sileſia with his wife and two of his children, and loſes, in one day, all his dominions both hereditary and acquired.

James king of England mediates in favour of his unfortunate kinſman, with as little ſucceſs as he had acted with conduct *.

1621.

By a decree of the aulic council, dated January the 20th, the emperor puts the elector Palatine under the ban of the empire. He baniſhes the duke de Jagendorf into Sileſia, the prince of Anhalt, the counts de Hoenlo, de Mansfeld, de la Tour, and all thoſe who had taken arms in favour of Frederic.

This vanquiſhed prince finds ſome interceſſors, but not one avenger. The king of Denmark endeavours to perſuade the emperor to clemency; notwithſtanding which Ferdinand cauſes many of the Bohemian gentry to fall by the hands of the common executioner.

Count de Buquoy, one of his generals, completes the reduction of the rebels that remain in Bohemia, after which he haſtens to ſecure Upper Hungary againſt Bethleem Gabor. Buquoy is killed in this campaign, and Ferdinand ſoon enters into an accommodation with the Tranſilvanian, to whom he yields up a large territory, that he may be able the better to ſecure the reſt. In the mean time the elector Palatine flies from Sileſia to Denmark, and from Denmark to Holland. The duke of

* Had James refuſed ſuccours to his ſon-in-law, from an unwillingneſs to involve England in German quarrels, he would have acted right: but he was amuſed by Gondemar the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who aſſured him that ſuch an interpoſition would ruin the propoſed match between his ſon and the Infanta; and beſides, he was ſo bigotted to the doctrine of the divine right of kings, that he did not approve of the Palatine's revolting againſt the emperor.

of Bavaria ſeizes upon the Upper Palatinate, and a body of Spaniſh troops, furniſhed by the archduke governor of the Low-countries, pours into the Palatinate under the command of the marquis de Spinola.

All the aſſiſtance which the elector Palatine could obtain from either his father-in-law king James, or from the king of Denmark, was good offices and uſeleſs embaſſies to Vienna. From France, whoſe intereſt it was to take his part, he had no aſſiſtance. At length his only reſource lay in two men, who ought naturally to have abandoned him. Theſe were the duke de Jagendorf in Sileſia, and the count de Mansfelt in the Palatinate; both of them baniſhed by the emperor, whoſe favour they might have obtained by quitting the party of Frederic. Incredible are their efforts in his behalf. Mansfelt, particularly, ſtill headed a little army, which he kept together in ſpite of the Auſtrian power, and which had no other pay than the art of Mansfelt ſupplied them with, who made war like a very partizan; the art of doing which was pretty well known in thoſe times, wherein it was rare to ſee very large armies ſubſiſting for a long time, and wherein a reſolute leader might maintain himſelf for ſome time under the favour of inteſtine troubles. Mansfelt rouſes and encourages the neighbouring Proteſtant princes.

Particularly a prince of Brunſwick, named Chriſtiern, the adminiſtrator, but in truth the uſurper of the houſe of Halberſtadt, joins Mansfelt. This Chriſtiern intitled himſelf the Friend of God, and the enemy of the Prieſts; nor was he leſs an enemy to the people, whoſe eſtates he ravaged. Mansfelt and he did a great deal of miſchief to the country, without being of the leaſt ſervice to the Palatine.

The prince of Orange and the United Provinces, who were at war with the Spaniards in the Low-countries, being obliged to turn all their force againſt them, were not able to afford the Palatine any effectual aſſiſtance. His party was cruſhed; notwithſtanding which, it was from time to time able to make ſome conſiderable oppoſition, and upon the ſlighteſt occaſion, ſome Proteſtant prince was found ready to arm in its favour.

The landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel had a diſpute about ſome land with the landgrave of Darmſtadt, and being piqued againſt the emperor, who favoured his competitor, he ſupported as much as poſſible the elector Palatine. The margrave of Baden-Dourlach joined Mansfelt, and all the Proteſtant princes in general, fearing that they ſhould ſoon be forced to make reſtitution of the eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions, appear diſpoſed to take arms: whence he has hopes of being ſeconded by ſome powers.

It is the duke of Bavaria's lot again to contribute to the happineſs of Ferdinand. His generals
1622. and his troops complete the ruin of the Palatine his couſin's party. Tilly the Bavarian general, afterwards one of the emperor's beſt generals, totally defeats, near Aſchaffenburg, the prince of Brunſwick, ſurnamed, very properly, The enemy of the Prieſts, who was returning from plundering the abbey of Fulda, and all the eccleſiaſtical ſtates of that part of Germany.

Mansfelt was the only perſon left who could defend the Palatinate, and he was capable of doing it, being at the head of a ſmall army which, joined with the remainder of Brunſwick's forces, amounted to about 10,000 men. Mansfelt was a very extraordinary man; he was baſtard to a count of that name; he had no fortune but his courage and abilities, but was privately aſſiſted by the prince of Orange and the Proteſtants, and found himſelf general of an army, which was entirely his own.

The unhappy Palatine was weak enough, being very ill adviſed, to renounce his ſuccour, in hopes that he might obtain from the emperor favourable conditions, which it was impoſſible to do without force. He himſelf obliged Mansfelt and Brunſwick to abandon him. Theſe two wandering chiefs paſs into Lorrain and Alſace, and ſearch out new countries to ravage. All the accommodation that Ferdinand II. now makes with the elector palatine, is to ſend the victorious Tilly to take Heidelburg, Manheim, and the reſt of the country; in ſhort, all that belongs to the elector is looked upon as

s the forfeiture of an exile. He had the moſt nume-ous and beſt choſen library in Germany, particularly of manuſcripts; theſe were ſent to the duke of Bavaria, who tranſported them by water to Rome; but moſt of he cargo was loſt by ſhipwreck, and the remainder is ſtill preſerved in the Vatican. Religion, and the love of liberty, always occaſion ſome troubles in Bohemia; but they are ſuch ſeditions as may be ended by puniſh-ment. The emperor baniſhes the Lutheran miniſters from Prague, and ſhuts up their churches. He gives the adminiſtration of the univerſity of Prague to the Je-ſuits. There is nothing that could now interrupt the pro-ſperity of the emperor but Hungary. He fully confirms the peace with Bethleem Gabor, acknowledging him ſovereign of Tranſilvania, and ceding to him ſeven countries, containing 50 leagues, bordering upon the frontiers of his territories. The reſt of Hungary, which had long been an uninterrupted ſcene of deſtruc-tive war, was, at preſent, of not the leaſt ſervice to the houſe of Auſtria, except that it ſtill continued to be the bulwark of the Auſtrian ſtates.

The emperor, being eſtabliſhed in Germany, aſſem-bles a diet at Ratiſbon, in which he declares, "that the elector Palatine being guilty of 1623. high treaſon, had forfeited his eſtates, digni-ties, and poſſeſſions to the imperial crown: but that not inclining to leſſen the number of electors, he wills, commands, and appoints, that Maximilian duke of Ba-varia, be in this diet inveſted with the Palatinate." This was ſpeaking like a maſter. The Catholic princes in every thing give way to the emperor's will. The Proteſtants make ſome public remonſtrances. The elector of Brandenburg, the dukes of Brunſwick, Hol-ſtein and Mecklenburg, together with the towns of Bremen, Hamburg, Lubec and others, renew the Evangelical league. They are joined by the king of Denmark; but this league being only defenſive, left the emperor at full liberty to act as he pleaſed.

On the 25th of February, Ferdinand upon his throne, inveſts the duke of Bavaria with the Palatinate. The vice-chancellor ſaying in theſe words expreſsly,

"that the emperor out of the fulneſs of his power confers on him this dignity."

The territories of the elector Palatine were not by this inveſtiture given to the duke of Bavaria. This was an important article, which gave riſe to many great difficulties.

John George de Hohenzollern, the eldeſt of the houſe of Brandenburg, is in this diet made a prince of the empire. Brunſwick, the enemy of the Prieſts, and the famous general Mansfelt, ſecretly ſupported by the Proteſtant princes, make their appearance again in Germany. Brunſwick eſtabliſhes himſelf in Lower Saxony, and afterwards in Weſtphalia. The count de Tilly vanquiſhes and diſperſes his army. Mansfelt ſtill remains immoveable and invincible. This was the only ſupport which now remained to the Palatine; a ſupport that could not reſtore him to his dominions.

The Proteſtant league ſtill concealed a flame, which was ready to break out againſt the emperor.

1624. James I. king of England, not being able to obtain any thing by negotiation in favour of his ſon-in-law, joins the league in Lower Saxony, of which Chriſtiern IV. king of Denmark was declared chief; but this was not the chief who was yet to make head againſt the fortune of Ferdinand II.

The king of England furniſhes money, Chriſtiern IV. king of Denmark finds troops. The famous Mansfelt increaſes his little army, and they prepare for war.

At length the king of England having reſolved efficaciouſly to ſupport his kinſman, and to de-

1625. clare againſt the houſe of Auſtria, deprives his confederates of the powerful aſſiſtance he might have given them, by dying in the month of March.

It was but part of the evangelical union that had raiſed the ſtandard. Lower Saxony was the ſeat of war.

The emperor's two great generals, Tilly and Walſtein, ſtop the progreſs of the king of Den-

1626. mark and his confederates. Tilly defeats the king of Denmark in a pitched battle near Northeim, in the Brunſwick territories. This victory

ſeems

ſeems to deprive the Palatine of every reſource. Mansfelt, who never loſt his courage, tranſplants the war, and goes by Brandenburg, Sileſia, and Moravia, to attack the emperor in Hungary. Bethleem Gabor, with whom the emperor had not kept all his engagements, takes up arms, and joins Mansfelt with 10,000 men. He armed the Turks, who were ſtill maſters of Buda; but this great and bold project is diſſipated, without coſting Ferdinand much trouble. Mansfelt's army is deſtroyed by diſtempers: he dies himſelf of the contagion in the flower of his age, exhorting the remainder of his ſoldiers, even in the hour of death, to ſacrifice their lives for the Germanic liberty.

A prince of Brunſwick, the other ſupport of the elector Palatine, died ſome ſhort time before. That fortune which deprived the Palatine of every hope, befriended Ferdinand in all things. He procures his ſon, Ferdinand Erneſt, to be elected king of Hungary. In vain would Bethleem Gabor maintain his rights to that kingdom; the Turks could give him no aſſiſtance, as it was under the minority of Amurath IV. In truth he ravaged Styria; but Walſtein repulſed him as he had repulſed the Danes. At length the emperor, as happy in his miniſters as in his generals, controuls Bethleem Gabor by a treaty, in which Tranſilvania and the ſeven adjacent counties remain to him during life, after which the whole was to fall to the houſe of Auſtria.

Every thing ſucceeds with Ferdinand, without his taking any other ſteps than wiſhing or commanding. Count Tilly purſues the king of 1627. Denmark and his confederates. That king retires to his own dominions. The dukes of Holſtein and of Brunſwick are diſarmed almoſt as ſoon as armed. The elector of Brandenburg, who was the only perſon that allowed his ſubjects to enliſt in the ſervice of Denmark, recals them, and breaks the treaty. The count de Tilly, and Walſtein now become duke of Friedland, permit their victorious troops to live every where at diſcretion.

Ferdinand,

Ferdinand, uniting the intereſts of religion and politics, intends taking the biſhopric of Halberſtadt from the houſe of Brunſwick, and the archbiſhoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen out of the hands of Saxony, in order to conſer them, together with ſeveral abbies, on one of his ſons. He had cauſed his ſon Ferdinand Erneſt to be elected king of Hungary, and had him crowned king of Bohemia without any election; for the Hungarians, neighbours of the Turks and of Bethleem Gabor, were to be ſoothed; but Bohemia was looked upon as conquered.

Ferdinand at length enjoys abſolute authority. The Proteſtant princes and Chriſtiern IV. king of
1628. Denmark, addreſs themſelves ſecretly to the French miniſtry, becauſe cardinal de Richlieu began to be extremely reſpectable all over Europe. They with reaſon flatter themſelves that the cardinal, who wanted to cruſh the Proteſtants in France, would ſupport them in Germany. Cardinal Richlieu cauſes money to be ſent to the king of Denmark, and encourages the Proteſtant princes. The Danes march towards the Elbe; but the Proteſtant league, affrighted, dares not openly declare itſelf againſt the emperor; nor is his happineſs as yet interrupted. He proſcribes the duke of Mecklenburg, whom the Danes had obliged to declare for them, whoſe duchy he gives to Waſtein.

The king of Denmark, always unfortunate, is obliged to make peace in the month of June.
1629. Never had Ferdinand more power, nor did he make a better uſe of it.

Chriſtiern IV. who had a diſpute with the duke of Holſtein, ravages the duchy of Sleſwick with his troops, which no longer ſerve againſt Ferdinand. The court of Vienna ſends him monitorial letters, as to a member of the empire, requiring him to evacuate Sleſwick. The king of Denmark anſwers, that this duchy never was an imperial fief like that of Holſtein. The court of Vienna replies, that the kingdom of Denmark itſelf was a fief of the empire. The king is at length obliged to conform to the emperor's will. It was ſcarcely poſſible

poſſible for the pretenſions of the empire upon the North to be ſupported with more dignity.

The empire, ever ſince the time of Charles V. had till now appeared entirely detached from Italy. The death of the duke of Mantua, marquis of Montferrat, revived the rights which they had formerly exerted. This duke of Mantua, called Vincent II. died without iſſue. His kinſman, Charles de Gonzaga duke de Nevers, claims the ſucceſſion in virtue of ſome matrimonial contracts. His relation Cæſar Gonzaga, duke de Guaſtalla, had received the eventual inveſtiture of it from the emperor.

The duke of Savoy, a third pretender, would have excluded the two others, and the king of Spain would have excluded all three. The duke de Nevers was already in poſſeſſion, and had cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged duke of Mantua; but the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy unite to ſeize on all they could conveniently in Montferrat.

The emperor, for the firſt time, exerts his authority in Italy: he ſends count Naſſau, in quality of Imperial commiſſary, to put in ſequeſtration Mantua and Montferrat, whilſt the proceſs is adjudged at Vienna.

Proceedings of this ſort had not been heard of in Italy theſe ſixty years. It was very viſible, that the emperor intended at one and the ſame time to ſupport the ancient rights of the empire, and to enrich the Spaniſh branch of Auſtria with theſe ſpoils. The miniſtry of France, who watched every opportunity of limiting the Auſtrian power, aſſiſts the duke of Mantua. It had already intermeddled with the affairs of the Valteline, and hindered the Spaniſh branch of Auſtria from ſeizing upon that country, whereby a communication might have been opened between Tirol and the Milaneſe, and the two branches of Auſtria rejoined by the Alps, as they were already on the Rhine by the Low Countries. With theſe views cardinal de Richlieu ſided with the duke of Mantua.

The Venetians, who were a people the neareſt and moſt expoſed, ſend into the Mantuan an army of 15,000 men. The emperor declares all ſuch vaſſals of the

the empire in Italy as take part with the duke, to be rebels. Pope Urban VIII. is obliged to favour theſe decrees. The popedom was at that time dependent on the houſe of Auſtria; and Ferdinand, who ſaw himſelf by the imperial dignity at the head of that houſe, was looked upon to be the moſt powerful prince in Europe.

The German troops, aſſiſted by ſome Spaniſh regiments, take Mantua by aſſault, and the town is delivered up to be pillaged.

Ferdinand, every-where ſucceſsful, imagines at length the time was come to make the Imperial dignity deſpotic, and the Catholic religion univerſal. He orders, by edict of his council, that the Proteſtants ſhould reſtore all the eccleſiaſtical benefices of which they had ſtood poſſeſſed ſince the time of the treaty of Paſſau, ſigned by Charles V. This was giving the greateſt blow to the Proteſtant party; for the archbiſhoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, the biſhoprics of Brandenburg, Lebus, Camin, Havelberg, Lubeck, Miſnia, Naumburg, Merſeburg, Schwerin, Minden, Verden, Halberſtadt, and a crowd of benefices, muſt have been given up. There was not one prince, either Lutheran or Calviniſt, who did not ſtand poſſeſſed of ſome eccleſiaſtical ſubſtance.

The Proteſtants have now no longer any meaſures to keep. The elector of Saxony, whom the hopes of one day poſſeſſing Cleves and Juliers had ſo long reſtrained, at length breaks out. Theſe hopes had been weakened, inaſmuch as the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Neuburg were agreed among themſelves; Cleves being peaceably enjoyed by the firſt, and Juliers by the ſecond, without any diſturbance from the emperor. Thus the duke of Saxony ſees theſe provinces loſt to him; and Magdeburg, with the revenue of ſeveral biſhoprics, about to be taken from him.

The emperor had at this time near 150,000 men in arms; the Catholic league had about 30,000. The two houſes of Auſtria were cloſely united. The pope and all the Catholic ſtates encourage the emperor in his project. France dared not as yet openly croſs him; nor was there any power in Europe that ſeemed in a condition

tion to oppoſe him. The duke of Walſtein, at the head of a powerful army, began to put in execution the emperor's edict in Suabia and the duchy of Wirtemberg; but the Catholic churches gained very little by theſe reſtitutions. Much was taken from the Proteſtants; the officers of Walſtein were enriched, and the troops lived at the expence of both parties, who equally complained.

Ferdinand ſees himſelf exactly in the ſame circumſtances that Charles V. had been at the league of Smalcald. All the princes of the empire were either to ſubmit, or he was to be overcome. The elector of Saxony now repents that he had aſſiſted in oppreſſing the Palatine; and it was he who, conjunctly with other Proteſtant princes, ſecretly engaged Guſtavus Adolphus king of Sweden to come into Germany, in lieu of the king of Denmark, whoſe aſſiſtance had been ſo very uſeleſs. 1630.

The elector of Bavaria was never more attached to the emperor than now. He had always a mind to command the imperial armies, thereby to keep the emperor as it were dependent upon him. In fine, he aſpires at being choſen king of the Romans, and treats ſecretly with France, while the Proteſtants call in the king of Sweden.

Ferdinand aſſembles a diet at Ratiſbon. His deſign was to have his ſon Ferdinand Erneſt elected king of the Romans: he alſo deſigned to engage the empire to ſecond him againſt Guſtavus Adolphus, in caſe that king ſhould enter Germany; and againſt France, ſhould it continue to protect the duke of Mantua in oppoſition to him; but, in ſpite of all his power, he finds the electors ſo little inclined to ſerve him, that he dares not even propoſe the election of his ſon.

The electors of Saxony and of Brandenburg were not perſonally preſent at this aſſembly; but their grievances were made known by their deputies. The elector of Bavaria was the firſt to ſay, "That it was impoſſible to deliberate freely in a diet, ſo long as the emperor has an army of 150,000 men on foot." The eccleſiaſtical electors and biſhops who were preſent, preſſed the reſtitution

tution of the eccleſiaſtical effects. This project could not be put in execution without the ſupport of an army, and the army could not be ſupported but at the expence of the empire, which grumbled at it. The elector of Bavaria, who wanted to command it, inſiſts upon Ferdinand's diſmiſſing the duke Walſtein. Ferdinand might have aſſumed the command himſelf, and by ſo doing deprived the elector of Bavaria of all pretext. But he does not take ſo glorious a ſtep: he deprives Walſtein of the command, and gives it to Tilly; by theſe means intirely loſing the Bavarian: in ſhort, he has ſoldiers, but no friends.

The power of Ferdinand, which made the ſtates of Germany fear their approaching loſs, gives uneaſineſs to France, Venice, and even to the pope. Cardinal Richlieu now treats with the emperor about Mantua; but he breaks the treaty, when informed that Guſtavus Adolphus prepares to enter Germany. He then negociates with that monarch; England and the United Provinces do the ſame. The elector Palatine, who a little before had been forſaken by all the world, finds himſelf ſuddenly on the point of being aſſiſted by all theſe powers. The king of Denmark, weakened by his preceding loſſes, and jealous of the king of Sweden, remains inactive.

Guſtavus at length quits Sweden on the 13th of June, embarking with 30,000 men: he lands in Pomerania: he already claims this province, either in the whole or in part, to reward his expedition. The duke of Pomerania, who now reigned, had no children: his dominions, by the law of conſanguinity, ſhould have devolved to the elector of Brandenburg. Guſtavus ſtipulates, that on the death of this duke, he is to hold the province in ſequeſtration, until he ſhall be reimburſed the expences of the war.

Cardinal Richlieu does not conclude the alliance between France and Guſtavus until that king's
1631. arrival in Pomerania, which only coſts France 300,000 livres, paid down, and 1,200,000 livres a year. This was one of the moſt ingenious treaties which had been ever made. A neutrality for the elector

lector of Bavaria, who might have been the greateſt ſupport of the emperor, was therein ſtipulated, as alſo that of the princes of the Catholic league, who were not to aſſiſt the emperor againſt the Swedes; and care was taken at the ſame time to make Guſtavus promiſe to preſerve all the rights of the Roman church in every place where he ſhould find that religion ſubſiſting. By theſe means, the making this a war of religion was avoided, and the Catholics of Germany themſelves were furniſhed with a ſpecious pretext for not aſſiſting the emperor. This league was ſigned at Brandenburg on the 23d of January.

The Proteſtant ſtates gained new courage. They aſſemble at Leipſick, where they reſolve to preſent their moſt humble remonſtrances to Ferdinand, and to ſupport their petition with 40,000 men for the eſtabliſhment of peace in the empire. Guſtavus ſtill augments his army as he advances: he comes to Frankfort upon the Oder, yet cannot prevent general Tilly from taking Magdeburg by aſſault on the 20th of May. The town is reduced to aſhes: the inhabitants are deſtroyed by fire and ſword; an horrible event! but now almoſt ſwallowed up in the crowd of calamities which perplexed theſe times. Tilly, being maſter of the Elbe, imagines he ſhall be able to prevent the king of Sweden from advancing any farther.

The emperor at length having accommodated all differences with France on account of the duke of Mantua, recals his troops from Italy: the ſuperiority was ſtill intirely on his ſide. The elector of Saxony, who had been the firſt to call in Guſtavus Adolphus, is at this time extremely embarraſſed; and the elector of Brandenburg, finding himſelf equally in the power of the Imperial and Swediſh armies, continues very irreſolute.

Guſtavus obliges the elector of Brandenburg to join him ſword in hand: the elector George William delivers to him the fortreſs of Spandau, during the whole time of the war; ſecures all the paſſes for him, and allows him to recruit in Brandenburg, pleading to the emperor, with whom he keeps fair, conſtraint, as an excuſe for his conduct.

The

The elector of Saxony gives the command of his own troops to Guſtavus. The king of Sweden advances towards Leipſick. Tilly arrives before him, and the elector of Saxony within a league of the town. Each of their armies conſiſted of about 30,000 fighting men. The Saxon troops, having been newly levied, make no manner of reſiſtance, and the elector of Saxony is forced to ſhare their flight. This misfortune is repaired by the Swediſh diſcipline. Guſtavus begins to make war in a new manner. He had accuſtomed his army to order, and to a ſort of exerciſe that never had been known before; in conſequence of which Tilly, though looked upon to be one of the beſt generals in Europe, was completely overthrown in a pitched battle fought on the 17th of September.

The conqueror purſues the Imperialiſts into Franconia: all places ſubmit to him from the Elbe to the Rhine, while the elector of Saxony retires into Bohemia and Sileſia. Guſtavus ſuddenly re-eſtabliſhes the duke of Mecklenburg in his dominions, to the ſurprize of Germany, and, after taking Mentz, haſtens into the Palatinate.

The depoſed elector Palatine ſearches out his protector, in order to fight in his army. The Swedes penetrate as far as Alſace. The elector of Saxony, on his ſide, makes himſelf maſter of the capital of Bohemia, and conquers Luſatia. All the Proteſtant party is in arms in Germany, and reaps the advantages of Guſtavus's victories. Tilly, with the remains of his army, continues in Weſtphalia, where he is reinforced by ſome troops from the duke of Lorrain; but he takes no ſtep towards oppoſing ſuch a rapid progreſs.

The emperor, fallen in leſs than a year from that height of grandeur in which he had appeared ſo formidable, is obliged at laſt to reſtore the command of his troops to that duke de Walſtein whom he had deprived of it, with a more abſolute power than ever had been given to any general. Walſtein accepts the charge; and there are only a few troops left to Tilly, to enable him at leaſt to act on the defenſive. The protection which the king of Sweden gave to the elector Palatine, in truth made the elector of Bavaria join the emperor, and he approaches

approaches Ferdinand, in these critical times, rather like a prince with whom he would choose to keep fair, than a friend whom he came to assist.

The emperor had no longer wherewith to maintain those numerous armies that had rendered him so formidable; they had, before the battle of Leipsick, subsisted at the expence of the Catholic and Protestant states; since which time they were deprived of these resources. To form, to recruit, and to keep the army on foot as well as possible, all lay upon Walstein.

Ferdinand is at this time reduced to ask both men and money from pope Urban VIII. and they are both refused him. He endeavoured to engage the court of Rome to publish a crusade against Gustavus; and his holiness promises a jubilee instead of a crusade.

Mean-while the king of Sweden repasses the Rhine towards Franconia. Nuremberg opens her gates to him. He marches to Donawert upon the Danube, restores that ancient town to its liberty, and withdraws it from the Bavarian yoke. All the lands in Suabia, belonging to the houses of Austria and Bavaria, he lays under contribution. He forces the passage of the Leck, in spite of Tilly, who is mortally wounded in the retreat. He enters Augsburg as a conqueror, and restores the Protestant religion. It is scarcely possible to push the rights of victory to a greater length. The magistrates of Augsburg take an oath of fidelity to him. The duke of Bavaria, who now remained neuter, and not in arms either for the emperor or himself, is obliged to quit Munich, which surrenders to the conqueror on the 7th of May, paying to him 300,000 rixdollars, to save it from being plundered. The Palatine has at least the comfort to enter with Gustavus the palace of him who had dispossessed him. 1632.

The affairs of the emperor and of Germany seem desperate. Tilly, an excellent general, who had never been unfortunate but against Gustavus, was dead; the duke of Bavaria, discontented with the emperor, was his victim, and saw himself driven out of his capital; Walstein duke of Friedland, still more disgusted with the duke of Bavaria, his declared enemy, had refused to march

march to his aſſiſtance; and the emperor Ferdinand, whoſe inclinations never led him to the field, waited his fate from that Walſtein whom he did not love, and whom he had held at defiance. Walſtein now employs himſelf in retaking Bohemia from the elector of Saxony, and has as much advantage over the Saxons, as Guſtavus had over the Imperialiſts.

With great difficulty Maximilian elector of Bavaria at length obtains being joined by Walſtein. The Bavarian army, partly levied at the emperor's expence, and partly at the expence of the Catholic league, conſiſts of about 25,000 men; that of Walſtein amounted to 30,000 old ſoldiers. The king of Sweden had not now above 20,000, but reinforcements were coming in to him on every ſide. He is joined by the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, William and Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, and the prince Palatine of Birkenfield. His general Banier always brings him new troops. He marches to the neighbourhood of Nuremberg with above 50,000 men, approaching the dukes of Bavaria and Walſtein in their intrenched camp. They give him battle, but it is not at all deciſive *. Guſtavus carries the war into Bavaria; Walſtein carries it into Saxony; provinces, the deſtruction of which is completed by theſe different movements.

Guſtavus, leaving 12,000 men in Bavaria, haſtens to Saxony. He ſoon arrives, by forced marches, at Leipſick,

* Guſtavus attacked the Imperialiſts in their intrenchments, and was ſo ſeverely handled, that he had like to have loſt his whole army. This would have been the caſe, had not the retreat been conducted by an old Scottiſh colonel, called Hepburn, who had quitted the Swediſh ſervice in diſguſt. He was ſtanding by the king, when that monarch declared, he had not one officer upon whom he could depend for this ſervice. Hepburn immediately unſheathing his ſword, "This (ſaid he) is the only occaſion in which I will ever draw a ſword in your ſervice." So ſaying, he ruſhed into the hotteſt part of the battle, delivered the king's orders, and conducted the retreat with ſuch ability and deliberation, that the Imperialiſts durſt not give them the leaſt diſturbance. Guſtavus thanked Hepburn for what he had done; but he never once invited him to remain in his ſervice, and the old veteran retired to France, where, it is ſaid, he loſt his life in a duel.

ſick, at a time when Walſtein did not in the leaſt expect him, and immediately prepares to give battle.

They fight in the great plain of Lutzen on the 15th of November. The victory is a long time doubtful; but the Swedes at length obtain it with the loſs of their king, who is found among the dead, pierced by two balls and two ſtrokes of a ſword. Duke Bernard de Saxe-Weimar completes the victory. What has not been invented about the death of this great man? A prince of the empire, who ſerved in his army †, is accuſed of having aſſaſſinated him; nay, his death is imputed to cardinal de Richlieu, who had buſineſs for his life. Is it not natural then for a king who expoſed himſelf like a ſoldier, to die like one?

This loſs was fatal to the elector Palatine, who hoped to have been re-eſtabliſhed by Guſtavus. He was then ſick at Mentz, and the news of Guſtavus's death heightened his diſorder in ſuch a manner, that he died on the 19th of November.

Walſtein retires into Bohemia after the battle of Lutzen. All Europe expected that the Swedes would quit Germany now that Guſtavus was no longer at their head; but general Banier marches with them into Bohemia. He cauſes the body of the king to be publicly ſhewn in the army, in order to excite the ſpirit of revenge.

Guſtavus left the throne of Sweden to a daughter ſix years old, and conſequently a government divided, as was the Proteſtant league by the death of him who had been its chief and ſupport. The fruits of ſo many victories were now near being loſt; yet nevertheleſs they were not. The true reaſon, perhaps, of ſo extraordinary an event is, that the emperor acted only in his cloſet, when he ought to have exerted himſelf at the head of his army. The ſenate of Sweden appoint their chancellor Oxenſtiern to follow 1633.

† Francis Albert duke of Saxe-Lauemburg. What confirms this ſuſpicion, was his abandoning the Swedes immediately after the battle, and returning to the emperor's army, which he is ſaid to have quitted for this vile purpoſe.

follow exactly the designs of Guſtavus the great in Germany. They alſo gave him abſolute power. Oxenſtiern at this time certainly enjoyed a more elevated rank, than ever ſubject in Europe had before. He was at the head of all the Proteſtant princes of Germany.

Theſe princes meet at Heilbron, and among them are the embaſſadors of France and England, and the ſtates general. Oxenſtiern opens the conference in his own houſe, and immediately ſignalizes himſelf by reſtoring the Upper and Lower Palatinate to Charles Lewis, ſon of the diſpoſſeſſed elector. This prince Charles Lewis had appeared in one of thoſe aſſemblies as an elector; but this ceremony had not reſtored him his dominions.

Oxenſtiern renews with cardinal Richlieu the treaty, that had been made with Guſtavus Adolphus. He is only allowed a million a year ſubſidy, inſtead of 1,200,000 livres which had been allowed his maſter.

Ferdinand negotiates with each of the Proteſtant princes, having a view of dividing them; but he does not ſucceed. The war is ſtill continued in plundering Germany with undeciſive ſucceſs. Auſtria is the only part which was free from it, as well before as after the time of Guſtavus. The Spaniſh branch of Auſtria, had hitherto but feebly ſupported the imperial branch; however, it at laſt makes an effort, ſending the duke of Feria from Italy into Germany with about 20,000 men, the greateſt part of which army he loſt in his marches and operations. The elector of Triers, biſhop of Spire, had built and fortified Philipſburg, on which the imperial troops had ſeized in ſpite of him. Oxenſtiern, by the force of the Swediſh arms, obliges them to reſtore it to the elector, notwithſtanding the duke of Feria vainly ſtrove to force him to raiſe the ſiege. This wiſe politician ſeemed inclined to convince Europe by his conduct, that he did not want to ſubdue the Catholic religion; but that Sweden, as victorious after as before the death of her king, was equally inclined to protect the Proteſtants and Catholics. A conduct that encouraged the pope to refuſe the men, money, and a cruſade, which the emperor had demanded.

France

France as yet had only taken part privately in this ſpute. It had hitherto coſt her but a very
rifling ſubſidy to procure the throne of 1634.
Ferdinand to be ſhaken by the Swediſh
rms; but cardinal Richlieu began now to delibe-
ate upon making ſome uſe of their ſucceſs. He
ainly endeavoured the ſequeſtration of Philipſburg; for
rance had taken every fair opportunity of making her-
elf miſtreſs of ſome towns in Alſace, as Haguenau and
averne, which ſhe had obliged the count de Solmes,
evernor of Straſburg, to part with by treaty Lewis
XIII. who had not declared war against Auſtria, yet
eclares it againſt Charles duke of Lorrain, becauſe he
as a partizan of that houſe. The miniſtry of France
ared not as yet openly to attack the emperor or Spain,
ecauſe they were able to defend themſelves, but turned
heir arms upon the feeble Lorrain. Charles II. the de-
oſed duke, is commonly called Charles IV. a prince
ell known for his extravagancies, his marriages, and
is misfortunes.

The French have an army in Lorrain, and troops in
Alſace ready to act openly againſt the emperor, the firſt
air opportunity that may afford the leaſt juſtification for
uch a proceeding. The duke de Feria, purſued by the
wedes into Bavaria, dies there after the almoſt intire
iſperſion of his army.

In the midſt of theſe troubles and misfortunes, duke
Walſtein is ingroſſed with a deſign of making the army,
hich he commanded in Bohemia, contribute to his own
randeur, and thereby render himſelf independent of an
mperor who ſeemed dilatory in aſſiſting even himſelf,
nd was always diſtruſtful of his generals. It is pre-
ended that Walſtein treated with the Proteſtant princes,
nd even with Sweden and France. But thoſe intrigues
f which he is accuſed were never clearly proved. The
onſpiracy of Walſtein is received as an hiſtorical fact,
nd yet we are abſolutely ignorant of what kind it was.
They gueſſed at his projects. His real crime was that
f making the army his own, and endeavouring to be-
ome abſolute maſter of it. Time and opportunity had
done

done the reſt. He had adminiſtered an oath to ſuch of the principal officers of this army as were moſt in his intereſt; the purport of which was, their binding themſelves *to defend his perſon and ſhare his fortune*. Although he might juſtify himſelf in this ſtep, by the very ample power which the emperor had lodged in his hands, yet the council of Vienna are alarmed. The Spaniſh and Bavarian parties at that court were Walſtein's profeſſed enemies. Ferdinand comes to a reſolution of taking off Walſtein and his principal friends by aſſaſſination. One Butler, an Iriſhman, to whom Walſtein had given a command of dragoons, and two Scotchmen, named Leſly and Gordon, the former one of the captains of his guard, are charged with this aſſaſſination. Theſe three ſtrangers having received their commiſſion in Egra, where Walſtein at that time reſided, cauſed four officers, who were the principal friends of the duke, to be forthwith ſtrangled at ſupper; after which they aſſaſſinate himſelf in the caſtle on the 15th of February. If Ferdinand was obliged to come to an extremity ſo very odious, it ought to be reckoned amongſt his misfortunes *.

All the effects of this aſſaſſination were to exaſperate the inhabitants of Bohemia and Sileſia. If the Bohemians ſtirred not upon this occaſion, it was becauſe they were awed by an army; but the Sileſians openly revolt, and join the Swedes. The Swediſh arms ſtill keep all Germany in awe, even as when their king was alive. General Banier commands the whole courſe of the Oder; marſhal Horn governs upon the Rhine; Bernard duke of Weimar upon the Danube, and the elector of Saxony in Bohemia and Luſatia. The emperor ſtill continues at Vienna. It was happy for him, that the Turks did not attack him at this melancholy juncture. Bethleem Gabor was dead, and Amurath IV. employed againſt the Perſians.

Ferdinand,

* It ought to be reckoned amongſt his crimes; for no kind of neceſſity can juſtify a monarch in patronizing aſſaſſination. Walſtein was put to the ban of the empire before he fell by theſe aſſaſſins.

Ferdinand, ſecure on that ſide, drew ſome aſſiſtance from Auſtria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Tirol. The king of Spain ſupplied him with ſome money, the Catholic league with troops, and the elector of Bavaria, whom the Swedes had deprived of the Palatinate, found himſelf under a neceſſity of taking part with the emperor. The Auſtrians and Bavarians united, ſupport the fortune of Germany upon the Danube. Ferdinand Erneſt king of Hungary, ſon to the emperor, encourages the Auſtrians by putting himſelf at their head. He takes Ratiſbon in ſight of the duke of Saxe-weimar. This prince and marſhal Horn who were joined, make a ſtand upon the borders of Suabia, and on the 5th of September they give the imperialiſts battle. This was the memorable battle of Norlinguen. The king of Hungary commanded the army: the elector of Bavaria headed his own troops; the cardinal-infant, governor of the Low Countries, led ſome Spaniſh regiments. Charles IV. duke of Lorrain, who had been ſtripped of his dominions by France, there commanded his little army of ten or twelve thouſand men, which he had ſometimes led to the ſervice of the emperor, ſometimes to that of the Spaniards, and ſubſiſted at the coſt of friends and enemies. There were in this combined army, ſeveral great generals, ſuch as Picolomini, and John de Vert. It was one of the moſt bloody battles that ever was fought, laſting above a day and a half; the army of Weimar was almoſt totally deſtroyed, and Suabia, and Franconia ſubmitted to the imperialiſts, where they quartered at diſcretion.

This misfortune, which was ſhared by the Swedes, by France, and the Proteſtants of Germany, contributed to the moſt chriſtian king's ſuperiority, and at length ſecured him the poſſeſſion of Alſace. It was not the chancellor Oxenſtiern's intention before this event, that France ſhould have much power in that country; but that the Swedes, who had all the labour of the war, ſhould reap the advantage of it. Beſides, Lewis XIII. had never openly declared againſt the emperor. But after the battle of Norlinguen the Swedes were obliged to intreat the miniſtry of France to take poſſeſſion of

Alſace, under the name of protector, upon condition, that neither the Proteſtant princes nor ſtates ſhould make peace or treat with the emperor without the conſent of France and Sweden. This treaty is ſigned at Paris November the firſt.

In conſequence of this, the king of France ſends an army into Alſace, and puts garriſons into all
1635. the towns, Straſburg excepted, which appears as a conſiderable ally. The elector of Triers, being under the protection of France, is arreſted by the emperor. This elector is confined at Bruſſels under the care of the cardinal infant, and furniſhes alſo a reaſon for going to war with the Spaniſh branch of Auſtria.

France had not joined her arms to thoſe of Sweden, until the latter became unfortunate, and the battle of Norlinguen had recovered the ſpirits of the imperialiſts. Cardinal Richlieu already ſhared in imagination, the conqueſt of the Spaniſh Low Countries with the Dutch. He reckoned he ſhould ſoon have the chief command himſelf, and Frederic Henry, a prince of Orange, be ſubſervient to his orders. In Germany he had in his pay Bernard de Weimar upon the Rhine. The army of Weimar, which was diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Weimarian troops, was now become like that of Charles IV. of Lorrain or of Mansfeld, an independent detached army, belonging only to its leader. They called this the army of the circles of Suabia and Franconia, and the Higher and Lower Rhine, although it was paid by France, and not in the leaſt ſubſiſted by theſe circles.

This was the height of the thirty years war, in which, on the one ſide we ſee the houſes of Auſtria, Bavaria, and the Catholic league engaged, and on the other, France, Sweden, Holland, and the Proteſtant league.

The emperor could not poſſibly neglect dividing the Proteſtant league after the victory of Norlinguen. There is great likelihood that France had been too late in her declaration of war, which had ſhe made in the time that Guſtavus himſelf was in Germany, the French troops had entered without reſiſtance a diſcontented country,

country, harraſſed by the government of Ferdinand; but they came at a time when Germany was wearied by the Swediſh devaſtations, after the death of Guſtavus, and the battle of Norlinguen, when the ſuperiority again appeared in favour of the imperialiſts.

At the ſame time that France declared herſelf, the emperor did not neglect to make a very neceſſary agreement with moſt of the Proteſtant princes. The ſame elector of Saxony, who had been the firſt that called in the Swedes, was the firſt to abandon them by the treaty, which is diſtinguiſhed by the name of Prague. Few treaties more plainly ſhew how religion ſerves as a pretext for politics, how it is laughed at, nay ſacrificed to neceſſity.

The emperor had ſet all Germany in a flame by the reſtitution of benefices; in the treaty of Prague he firſt gave up the archbiſhopric of Magdeburg and all eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſion to the elector of Saxony, who was a Lutheran, excepting a penſion, which was to be paid to the elector of Brandenburg a Calviniſt. The intereſt of the houſe of the elector Palatine, which had given firſt riſe to this long war, ſeemed to be the thing leaſt regarded in this treaty. The elector of Bavaria was only obliged to ſubſiſt the widow of him who had been king of Bohemia, and the Palatine his ſon, when he ſhould ſubmit to the imperial authority.

The emperor beſides this, engages to reſtore to ſuch of the confederates of the Proteſtant league as acceded to this treaty, all that he had taken from them; and it was likewiſe ſtipulated, that they ſhould reſtore all they had taken from the houſe of Auſtria; the latter indeed was very trifling, ſince the emperor's dominions, Upper Auſtria excepted, had not been in the leaſt expoſed in this war.

One branch of the houſe of Brunſwic, the duke of Mecklenburg, the houſe of Anhalt, that branch of Saxony which is eſtabliſhed at Gotha, duke Bernard, de Saxe Weimar's brother, beſides ſeveral imperial towns, ſigned this treaty. The others continue to negotitate, expecting great advantages.

The whole weight of the war, which had reſted intirely upon Guſtavus Adolphus, began in 1635 to fall upon the French; and this war, which had been waged from the borders of the Baltic ſea to the bottom of Suabia, was now brought into Alſace, Lorrain, Franche Comté, and the borders of France. Lewis XIII. who had only paid 1,200,000 franks by way of ſubſidy to Guſtavus Adolphus, allowed 4,000,000 to Bernard de Weimar for the uſe of his troops; beſides which the French miniſtry gave up to this duke all their pretenſions upon Alſace, of which province they promiſed to declare him landgrave upon a peace.

It muſt be owned, that had not cardinal Richlieu been the man who made this treaty, it would appear very ſtrange. How could they give a young German prince who might have children, a province of ſuch vaſt advantage to France, wherein ſhe already poſſeſſed ſeveral towns? It is very probable, that cardinal Richlieu had no notion of keeping Alſace; nor had he any hope of annexing Lorrain to France, over which ſhe had no manner of right, and which muſt have been ſurrendered upon a peace. The conqueſt of Franche Comté appeared much more natural, and yet on that ſide they make but very feeble efforts. The hope of dividing the Low Countries with the Dutch, was the cardinal's principal object: and he had this ſo much at heart, that had his health and affairs permitted it, he was reſolved to have commanded there in perſon; yet in this project he was principally diſappointed, and Alſace, which he had ſo freely beſtowed upon Bernard de Weimar, was after the cardinal's death allotted to France. Thus do events often deceive the foreſight of the ableſt politicians, unleſs they had ſaid it was the intention of the French miniſtry to keep Alſace under the name of the duke of Weimar, as it had already an army under the command of this great captain.

Italy at length takes part in this great quarrel; but not as the imperial houſes of Saxony and
1636. Suabia had done, to defend its liberty againſt the German arms. It was intended to diſpute the ſuperiority of the Spaniſh branch of Auſtria governing

governing in Italy, on the other ſide of the Alps, as it had been formerly oppoſed on the banks of the Rhine. The miniſtry of France, had Savoy at that time for itſelf, and had juſt driven the Spaniards out of the Valteline. Theſe two great Auſtrian bodies were thus attacked on all ſides.

France alone ſends five armies at once into the field, it attacks or defends itſelf on the ſide of Piedmont, the Rhine, and the frontiers of Flanders; thoſe of Franche Comté, as well as thoſe of Spain. Francis I. had formerly made the like efforts; and France had never manifeſted before ſo many reſources.

In the midſt of ſo many ſtorms, ſuch confuſion of powers which preſſed it on every ſide, while the elector of Saxony, after having brought the Swedes into Germany, heads the imperial troops, and is defeated by general Banier in Weſtphalia, who ravages Heſſe, Saxony and Weſtphalia. Ferdinand, ſtill intirely ingroſſed by politics, at laſt cauſes his ſon Ferdinand Erneſt, to be declared king of the Romans, in the diet of Ratiſbon on the 12th of December; this prince is crowned on the 20th. All the enemies of Auſtria exclaim againſt this election as null and void. The elector of Triers, ſay they who advance this, was a priſoner; Charles Lewis ſon to Frederic the Palatine, king of Bohemia, is not reſtored as yet to the rights of his Palatinate: the electors of Mentz and Cologne are the emperors penſioners, all which, ſay they, is againſt the golden bull. It is very certain that none of theſe clauſes were inſerted in the golden bull; and that the election of Ferdinand III. by a majority of voices, was as lawful as any other election of a king of the Romans made during the life of the emperor; the manner of which is not ſpecified in the golden bull.

Ferdinand II. dies on the 15th of February, aged 59, after a reign of 18 years, which had been perplexed with foreign and inteſtine wars, againſt 1637. which he never fought but in his cabinet. He was unfortunate, becauſe in his ſucceſſes he had imagined it neceſſary to be bloody; and he had afterwards felt great changes of fortune. Germany was ſtill more

unfortunate than her master; ravaged by her natives, by the Swedes, and by the French, pining under poverty and famine, and plunged in barbarity, the certain consequences of a war so long and so unhappy.

FERDINAND III.

Forty-seventh Emperor.

FERDINAND III. mounted the throne of Germany at a time when the harrassed people began to hope for some repose; but they flattered themselves in vain. A congress had been appointed at Cologne and also at Hamburg, to give at least to the public the appearances of the approaching accommodation. But peace was not the object of either cardinal Richlieu or the Austrian council's intention; each party still hoped for advantages which might enable them to prescribe laws.

This long and dreadful war, founded upon so many different interests, is then protracted because it was already begun. Saxony was wasted by the Swedish general Banier, and the country about the Rhine by duke Bernard de Weimar: the Spaniards having taken the island of St. Margaret had entered Languedoc, and in the Low Countries penetrated even into the Pontoise. Viscount Turenne had already distinguished himself in the Low Countries against the cardinal infant. The object of so many devastations was no longer the same as when these troubles began. They had been kindled by the Protestant and Catholic league, and on the elector Palatine's account; but their purpose now was the superiority of which France endeavoured to deprive the house of Austria, and the design of the Swedes was to preserve part of their conquests in Germany. With these different views they treated, and were in arms.

Duke Bernard de Weimar began to be as dangerous an enemy to Ferdinand III. as Gustavus
1638. Adolphus had been to his father. He gave him battle twice in 15 days near Rhensfield, one of the four forest towns of which he made himself master,

maſter, and at the ſecond battle, he entirely deſtroyed the army of John de Werth, a celebrated imperial general, whom he took priſoner with many of his general officers. John de Werth is ſent to Paris. Weimar beſieges Briſac; he gains a third battle, aſſiſted by marſhal de Guebriant and viſcount Turenne, againſt general Gœuts. He gains a fourth againſt Charles IV. duke of Lorrain, who like Weimar had no eſtate but his army. After having won four victories in leſs than four months, he takes the fort of Briſac on the 18th of December, which had hitherto been looked upon as the key of Alſace.

Charles Lewis, count Palatine, who had re-aſſembled ſome troops, and who burned with impatience to re-eſtabliſh himſelf by his ſword, is not ſo happy in Weſtphalia, where the imperialiſts deſtroy his feeble army. But the Swedes under general Banier make new conqueſts in Pomerania. The firſt year of this reign is hardly remarkable for any thing but misfortunes.

The good fortune of the houſe of Auſtria delivers it from Bernard de Weimar, as it had already done from Guſtavus Adolphus. He is cut off by ſickneſs in the flower of his age, being only 35 years old, on the 18th of July. 1639.

The inheritance he left behind him was his army and his conqueſts. This army, in truth, was ſecretly paid by France; but it belonged to Weimar. It had ſworn fidelity to no other. There was a neceſſity to negotiate with it, to preſerve it in the French ſervice, and keep it from the Swediſh.

Marſhal Guebriant purchaſes the fidelity of theſe troops, and Lewis XIII. is thus maſter of Weimar's army, of Alſace, Briſgaw, and the neighbouring country.

Money and negotiations do every thing for him. He diſpoſes intirely of Heſſe, a province that furniſhes good ſoldiers: the celebrated Amelia, dowager of the landgrave of Hanau, the heroine of her time, keeps on foot, with the help of ſome French ſubſidies, an army of 10,000 men in that ruinated country which ſhe had reſtored; enjoying at the ſame time that reputation which all the

virtues of the ſex beſtow, together with the glory of being chief of a very powerful party.

Holland indeed, in this quarrel of the emperor, had remained neuter; but then ſhe cauſed a conſiderable diverſion by employing Spain and the Low Countries.

Banier was in all his battles ſucceſsful. After making ſure of Pomerania, he had ſecured Thuringia and Saxony.

But the principal object of ſo many troubles, which had been the re-eſtabliſhment of the houſe of the Palatine, ſeemed to be moſt neglected, and by a ſingular fatality this prince was thrown into priſon by the French themſelves, who had ſo long appeared willing to place him in the electoral chair.

The count Palatine, at the death of the duke de Weimar, had conceived a noble, and indeed a very reaſonable deſign, that of re-entering upon his eſtates with Weimar's army, which he would have purchaſed with the money of England: he goes in reality to London, where he gets money, and returns by France; but the cardinal Richlieu, who was very willing to protect him, yet did not care to ſee him independent, cauſes him to be arreſted; nor is he ſet at liberty, until Briſac and Weimar's troops are ſecured to France, which then gives him a maintenance the prince is forced to accept.

The progreſs of the French and Swedes continue.

1640. The duke de Longueville and marſhal Guebriant join general Banier. This army is ſtill increaſed by the troops of Heſſe and Lunenburg.

They march towards Vienna without general Picolomini; but in a wary, ſkilful, and deliberate manner. It had been otherwiſe very difficult for ſo numerous an army to advance in ſight of the enemy in a country that had been ſo long ruinated, and where the ſoldiers, as well as the people, were in want of every thing.

The end of the year 1640 is yet very fatal to the houſe of Auſtria. Catalonia revolts, and gives itſelf up to France. Portugal, which ever ſince the time of Philip II. had been a province of impoveriſhed Spain, ſhakes off the Auſtrian yoke, and ſoon erects herſelf into a ſeparate and flouriſhing kingdom.

Ferdinand

Ferdinand then begins ſeriouſly to treat of peace; yet at the ſame time demands of the diet of Ratiſbon an army of 90,000 men to carry on the war.

While the emperor is at the diet of Ratiſbon, general Banier is very near ſeizing upon him and all his deputies. He marches his army over the Danube, which was frozen; and had he not been ſurpriſed by a thaw, he had taken Ferdinand in Ratiſbon. 1641.

The ſame fortune which had taken off Guſtavus and Weimar in the midſt of their conqueſts, at length delivers the Imperialiſts from the famous general Banier. He ſickens, and dies, on the 20th of May, at Halberſtadt, being 40 years old, and at that time more formidable than ever. None of the Swediſh generals had any long career.

They negotiate ſtill. Cardinal Richlieu could have made peace, but he did not chooſe it: he knew very well what advantages France was to reap; and it was his intention to make himſelf neceſſary, during the life, and after the death of Lewis XIII. whoſe end he foreſaw approaching; but his forecaſt could not teach him that he was to die firſt. He concluded a new treaty of an offenſive alliance with Chriſtina queen of Sweden, for preliminaries of that peace with which they ſoothed an oppreſſed people. He augments the Swediſh ſubſidy with an addition of 200,000 livres.

Count de Torſtenſon ſucceeds general Banier in the Swediſh army, which was in reality an army of Germans. Almoſt all the Swedes who had fought under Guſtavus and Banier were dead; and under the name of Swedes, the Germans fight againſt their country. Torſtenſon, bred under Guſtavus, ſhews himſelf worthy of ſo great a maſter. Marſhal Guebriant and he again defeat the Imperialiſts near Wolfenbuttle.

Auſtria, notwithſtanding ſo many victories, is not yet ſubdued. The emperor ſtill holds out. Germany, from the Maine, even to the Baltic ſea, is laid waſte. The war is not carried into Auſtria. They had not ſufficient forces. Theſe victories, ſo much boaſted of, were not entirely deciſive: they could not at once go through ſo

many different enterprizes, and powerfully attack one ſide without weakening another.

Frederic William, the new elector of Brandenburg, treats with France and Sweden, in hope,
1642. it is ſaid, of obtaining the duchy of Jagerndorff in Sileſia; a duchy formerly given by Ferdinand I. to a prince of the houſe of Brandenburg, who had been his governor, ſince confiſcated by Ferdinand II. after the victory of Prague, and the misfortunes of the Palatine. The elector of Brandenburg hopes to re-enter that territory of which his great uncle had been deprived.

The duke of Lorrain alſo implores the aſſiſtance of France to reſtore him to his dominions, which ſhe does, keeping only ſome fortified towns. This is another ſupport taken from the emperor.

Ferdinand III. ſtill holds out, notwithſtanding all theſe loſſes; nor is he abandoned by either Saxony or Bavaria. The hereditary provinces furniſh him with ſoldiers. Torſtenſon again defeats the Imperial troops in Sileſia, commanded by the archduke Leopold, by the duke of Saxe Lawemburg, and Picolomini: but this victory is attended with no conſequences. He re-paſſes the Elbe, enters Saxony, and lays ſiege to Leipſick: he gains another ſignal victory in that country, where the Swedes had always conquered. Leopold is beaten on the plains of Breitenfelt the 2d of November. Torſtenſon enters Leipſick on the 15th of December. All this indeed is melancholy for Saxony and the provinces of Germany; but they had never penetrated to its centre, nor to the emperor, who ſupports himſelf after more than twenty defeats.

Cardinal Richlieu dies on the 4th of December; a death that gives ſome hopes to the houſe of Auſtria.

The Swedes, in the courſe of this war, had often entered Bohemia, Sileſia, and Moravia, and
1643. quitted them to throw themſelves into the eaſtern provinces. Torſtenſon would have entered Bohemia; but, notwithſtanding his victories, could never gain his point.

They

They continued to negotiate ſtill ſlowly at Hamburg, while the war was purſued very briſkly. Lewis XIII. dies on the 14th of May. The emperor is farther than ever from a general peace: he flattered himſelf he ſhould be able to withdraw the Swedes from the French alliance, during the troubles of a minority; but it happens during the minority of Lewis XIV. though very perplexed, as it had under that of Chriſtina, that the war is continued at the expence of Germany.

The emperor's party is at length ſtrengthened by the duke of Lorrain, who joins him after the death of Lewis XIII.

The death of marſhal Guebriant, who is killed at the ſiege of Rothuel, is yet another advantage for Ferdinand. This is the fourth great general who periſhed in the progreſs of his victories againſt the Imperialiſts. It was the emperor's good fortune alſo that general Mercy ſhould defeat marſhal Rantzau, Guebriant's ſucceſſor, at Dutlingen in Suabia.

Theſe viciſſitudes of war retard the conferences about a peace, at Munſter and at Oſnabrug, where the congreſs at laſt is ſettled. A war between Denmark and Sweden, on account of ſome Daniſh ſhips taken by the latter, gives Ferdinand III. time to breathe. This accident might have given the ſuperiority to the emperor, who ſhews what were his reſources, by marching a ſmall part of his army, with Galas at its head, to the aſſiſtance of Denmark. But this diverſion ſerves only to ruin Holſtein, the ſtage of this tranſitory war, and one of the moſt deſolate provinces of Germany. Europe was the more ſurpriſed at hoſtilities between Sweden and Denmark, becauſe Denmark had offered itſelf as mediator of the general peace; but was now excluded; and Rome and Venice have at length the ſole mediation of this peace, which is yet very diſtant.

The firſt ſtep taken by count d'Avaux, one of the plenipotentiaries of this peace at Munſter, threw the greateſt obſtacle in the way of it. He writes to the princes and ſtates of the empire aſſembled at Ratiſbon, to engage them to ſupport their prerogatives, and to ſhare with the emperor and the electors the right of peace and

and war; a right that had been always conteſted between the electors and other imperial ſtates. At the diet, theſe ſtates inſiſted upon their right of being admitted to the conferences as contracting parties. In this they had got the ſtart of the French Miniſters, who in their letters uſed ſome diſreſpectful terms towards Ferdinand. This occaſions the emperor and the electors at once to fall off, and gives them room to complain, and to throw the reproach of continuing the troubles of Europe upon France.

Happily for the plenipotentiaries of France, they receive news about that time of a moſt memorable victory gained over the Spaniſh-Auſtrian army, at Rocroi, by the duke d'Enguien, afterwards the great Condé, who in this battle deſtroys the celebrated Caſtilian, and Walloon infantry, whoſe reputation had been ſo very great. Plenipotentiaries, backed by ſuch victories, might write in any terms.

The emperor might ſtill flatter himſelf that Denmark would declare in his favour; but of this re-
1644. ſource he is deprived. Cardinal Mazarine, Richlieu's ſucceſſor, is aſſiduous in reconciling Denmark to Sweden: nor is this all; Denmark alſo engages itſelf not to aſſiſt any of the enemies of France.

Both the negotiations and the war are equally unhappy for the Auſtrians. The duke d'Enguien, who had beaten the Spaniards the preceding year, gives battle three times in four days, between the 5th and 9th of Auguſt, in the neighbourhood of Friburg, to general Mercy, and beats him each time, whereby he makes himſelf maſter of the whole country from Mentz to Landau, of which Mercy had been before poſſeſſed.

Cardinal Mazarine and the chancellor Oxenſtiern, in order the better to command the negotiations, raiſe up a new enemy to Ferdinand in the perſon of Ragotſky, who had been ſovereign of Tranſilvania ever ſince 1626. They procure for him the protection of the pope. Ragotſky wants neither pretexts nor reaſons for his conduct. The Proteſtants of Hungary perſecuted, the privileges of the people deſpiſed, and the violation of ancient

cient treaties, form Ragotſky's manifeſto, while the money of France ſupplies him with arms.

In the mean time the Imperialiſts are puſhed hard by Torſtenſon in Franconia. General Galas flies every where before him, and before count Konigſmark, who trod already in the ſteps of the greateſt Swediſh captains.

Ferdinand and the archduke Leopold, his relation, were at Prague when the victorious Torſtenſon enters Bohemia, and obliges them to fly to Vienna. 1645.

Torſtenſon comes up with the Imperial army at Tabor, which was commanded by general Gœuts and John de Werth, who was redeemed out of priſon. Gœuts was killed, and John de Werth flies. In ſhort, the rout is complete.

The conqueror marches to, and beſieges Brinn; nay, even threatens Vienna.

In this long train of diſaſters, ſomething always fell out to preſerve the emperor. The ſiege of Brinn had been protracted, and inſtead of the French marching towards the Danube to join the Swedes, as they were to have done in caſe they had conquered, viſcount Turenne is beaten, on the beginning of his journey, by general Mercy, at Mariendal, and retires to Heſſe.

The great Condé marches againſt Mercy, and has the glory of repairing Turenne's defeat, by a moſt ſignal victory on the very ſame plains of Norlinguen, where the Swedes had been before beaten after the death of Guſtavus. Turenne contributes even more than Condé to the ſucceſs of this bloody battle, which is the leſs deciſive the more it is deſtructive. The emperor ſuddenly withdraws his troops from Hungary, and treats with Ragotſky, to prevent the French from marching through Bavaria to Vienna, while the Swedes threaten to approach it through Moravia.

In all probability, while the French and Swediſh arms are attended with ſuch mighty proſperity, ſome rooted vice ſtill prevented their reaping the advantage of ſuch ſucceſs. The mutual fear which each of theſe allies had of the other's obtaining the ſuperiority, the failure of

of money, and the want of recruits, all ſet bounds to their progreſs.

After the famous battle of Norlinguen, it was ſcarcely to be expected that the Auſtrians and Bavarians ſhould ſuddenly recover the territories loſt by that battle, and that they ſhould purſue even the victorious army of Condé to the Neckar, where he himſelf was not, but where Turenne remained. Such viciſſitudes are frequent in this war.

In the mean time, the emperor, tired with ſuch continual ſhocks, began to think ſeriouſly of peace. He at length gives the elector of Triers his liberty, whoſe impriſonment had given France a pretext for declaring war: But the French arms re-eſtabliſh this elector in his capital. Turenne drives out the Imperial garriſon, and the elector of Triers allies himſelf to France as his benefactor. The elector Palatine might have had the ſame obligations; but France as yet had done nothing deciſive for him.

That which principally contributed to the emperor's ſafety was, that Saxony and Bavaria had almoſt always borne the burden of the war; but the elector of Saxony, being at length much weakened, enters into treaty with the Swedes. Ferdinand had not done more for him than for Bavaria. The Turks threaten Hungary. All had thereby been loſt. The fear of the Ottoman arms makes him impatient to ſatisfy Ragotſky. He acknowledges that prince ſovereign of Tranſilvania, a prince of the empire, and reſtores to him all that he had given to his predeceſſor Bethleem-Gabor. Thus by every treaty is the emperor a loſer; and he haſtens the concluſion of the treaty of Weſtphalia, whereby he is to loſe ſtill more.

Pope Innocent X. was the firſt mediator of this peace, whereby the Catholics were to be conſiderable
1646. loſers; the republic of Venice was the ſecond. Cardinal Chigi, afterwards pope by the name of Alexander VII. was the pope's miniſter at Munſter, and Contarini acted there for Venice. Each intereſted power made propoſitions according to its hopes or fears; but victories form treaties.

During

During theſe firſt negotiations, marſhal Turenne, by an unexpected and bold march, joins the Swediſh army upon the Neckar in ſight of the archduke Leopold. He advances as far as Munich, and increaſes the fears of Auſtria. Another Swediſh body marches to ravage Sileſia; but all theſe expeditions are no more than incurſions. If the war had been carried on ſtep by ſtep, under the conduct of one ſingle leader, who had always obſtinately perſiſted in the ſame plan, the emperor had not been in a condition at this time to accompliſh the crowning his eldeſt ſon Ferdinand, in the month of Auguſt at Prague, and afterwards at Preſburg, though this young king did not live to enjoy his dignity; beſides, the thrones, which his father at that time beſtowed, were very unſteady.

The emperor, in endeavouring to ſecure theſe kingdoms to his ſon, is nearer loſing them than ever. The elector of Saxony is obliged, by the misfortunes of the war, to abandon him, as is the elector Maximilian his brother-in-law, whoſe example the elector of Cologne follows. They ſign a treaty of neutrality with France. Marſhal Turenne obliges the elector of Mentz to adopt the ſame conduct; and fear has the ſame influence on the landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt. The emperor remains alone, without any one prince daring to take part in his quarrel; nor have we, till this time, a ſingle inſtance of ſuch a nature in the wars of the empire. 1647.

About this period, Wrangel, a new Swediſh general who ſucceeded Torſtenſon, takes Egra; and Bohemia is once again pillaged. The danger appears ſo very great, that the elector of Bavaria, notwithſtanding his great age, and the peril thereby threatening his dominions, cannot ſee the head of the empire left without ſuccour, but breaks through the treaty with France. War is made at the ſame time in different places, according as the armies can ſubſiſt. When the emperor has the leaſt advantage, his miniſters at the congreſs demand favourable conditions; but on the leaſt check, are obliged to ſubmit to ſevere terms.

The

The duke of Bavaria's revolt to the houſe of Auſtria is not proſperous. Turenne and Wrangel
1648. beat his troops and the Auſtrians at Summarhauſen and Lawingen, near the Danube, in ſpite of the brave reſiſtance of a prince of Wirtemberg and that of Montecuculi, who began already to prove himſelf worthy to oppoſe a Turenne. The conqueror poſſeſſes himſelf of Bavaria, and the elector takes refuge at Saltſburg.

In the mean time, count Koningſmark, at the head of the Swedes, ſurpriſes Prague in Bohemia. This was a deciſive blow. It was time at length to make peace. Conditions were to be received, or the empire hazarded. The French and Swedes had no longer any enemy in Germany but the emperor; all the reſt were either allied or ſubdued, and waited only that the empire ſhould receive laws from the congreſs at Munſter and Oſnabrug.

The PEACE *of* WESTPHALIA.

THIS peace of Weſtphalia, at laſt ſigned on the 14th of October 1648, at Munſter and Oſnabrug, was made, given, and received, *as a fundamental and perpetual law*; ſuch are the exact words of the treaty. It was to ſerve as the baſis of Imperial capitulations. It is even at this day a law as ſacred, and as fully received, as the Golden Bull; nay, very much ſuperior to this bull, by the detail of the many intereſts comprehended in the treaty of all the rights which it confirms, and the changes made, as well in religion as civi. affairs.

This work had been laboured at inceſſantly, for more than ſix years, at Munſter and Oſnabrug: there had been, however, much time loſt in diſputing about ceremonials; the emperor refuſing to give the title of Majeſty to the kings who had triumphed over him. His miniſter Lutzad, in the firſt act of 1641, wherein the paſſports and conferences were ſettled, ſpoke of preliminaries *between his Moſt Sacred Cæſarean Majeſty and the Moſt Serene and Moſt Chriſtian King.* The king

king of France, for his part, refuſes to acknowledge Ferdinand as emperor. It was not without difficulty the court of France had given the title of Majeſty to the great Guſtavus, who believed all kings to be equal, and admitted no ſuperiority but that of victory. The Swediſh miniſters, at the congreſs of Weſtphalia, affected to be put upon a footing with thoſe of France. The plenipotentiaries of Spain in vain inſiſted upon their king being named immediately after the emperor. The new ſtates of the United Provinces demanded in this treaty an equal rank with kings. The term Excellency began now firſt to be uſed. The miniſters aſſumed it to themſelves, and there were tedious debates to know to whom it belonged.

In the famous treaty of Munſter were named his Sacred Imperial Majeſty, his Sacred Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and the Sacred Royal Majeſty of Sweden.

None of the electors plenipotentiaries had the title of Excellency given him in theſe conferences; nor do the ambaſſadors of France give place even to the electors themſelves among the princes, and the count d'Avaux wrote thus to the elector of Brandenburg: "Sir, I have done all I could to ſerve you." When the king of France addreſſed them, the ſtates-general of the United Provinces were to be called the Lords of the States; purſuant to which, when count d'Avaux went from Munſter to Holland, in 1644, he never addreſſed them by any title but that of Meſſieurs; nor could they procure for their plenipotentiaries the diſtinction of Excellency. The count d'Avaux alſo refuſed it to an ambaſſador from Venice, and only gave it to Contarini becauſe he was a mediator. Affairs were very much retarded by theſe pretenſions and refuſals which the Romans call *gloriole*, and which all the world condemns when they are without character, but inſiſt on when they have eſtabliſhed one. Theſe cuſtoms, titles, ceremonies, ſuperſcriptions, and ſubſcriptions of letters, with their different forms, have varied from time to time. Often the negligence of a ſecretary was ſufficient to found a title. The languages in which they wrote, eſtabliſhed forms, which, paſſing afterwards into other

other languages, appeared odd. The emperors before Rodolphus I. ſent all their mandates in Latin, *thouing* every prince, as the grammar of that language admits. This *thouing* of the counts of the empire was continued in the German language, which diſallows ſuch expreſſions. We find every where ſuch examples, but they have not even to this day ſettled a particular precedent.

The mediating miniſters were rather witneſſes than arbitrators; above all, the nuncio Chigi, who was only there to ſee the church ſacrificed. He ſees the dioceſe of Bremen and Verden given up to the Swede, who was a Lutheran; thoſe of Magdeburg, Alberſtadt, Minden, and Camin, to the elector of Brandenburg.

The biſhoprics of Ratſburg and Schwerin were only fiefs of Mecklenburg.

The biſhoprics of Oſnabrug and of Lubec were not indeed intirely ſecularized, but alternately appointed to a Lutheran and a Catholic biſhop. This was a delicate regulation, which could never have taken place during the firſt troubles of religion; but which is not contradicted by a nation naturally quiet, in which the fury of fanaticiſm was extinct.

Liberty of conſcience was eſtabliſhed all over Germany. The emperor's Lutheran ſubjects in Sileſia had a right to build new churches, and the emperor was obliged to admit Proteſtants into the Aulic council.

The commanderies of Malta, the abbeys and benefices, in Proteſtant countries, were given to the princes and ſovereigns who were at the expence of the war.

How very different were theſe conceſſions from the edict of Ferdinand II. who in the time of his proſperity had ordered the reſtitution of all eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions. Neceſſity, and the repoſe of the empire, ordained this law. The nuncio proteſted and anathematiſed. That a mediator ſhould condemn the treaty over which he preſided, was before this unknown; but he knew not what other ſtep to take. The pope by his bull "deprives him of his full power, annulling all the articles of the peace of Weſtphalia, as far as they related to religion." But had he been in the place of Ferdinand, he had ratified the treaty. This pacific revolution

on in religious, cauſes another in civil affairs. Sweden becomes a member of the empire, being in poſſeſſion of the Hither Pomerania, the moſt beautiful and profitable part of the other, the principality of Rugen, the town of Wiſmar, many neighbouring villages, and the duchies of Bremen and Verden. The duke of Holſtein alſo hereby gained ſome territories.

The elector of Brandenburg indeed loſes great part of the Hither Pomerania, but gains the fertile country of Magdeburg, which was infinitely better than his marquiſate. He had alſo Camin, Halberſtadt, and the principality of Minden.

The duke of Mecklenburg loſes Wiſmar, but he gains the territory of Ratſburg and of Schwerin. Five millions of German crowns are at length paid to Sweden, which the ſeven circles were to have diſcharged; and 600,000 crowns were paid to the princeſs landgrave of Heſſe, to be raiſed upon the archbiſhoprics of Mentz, of Cologne, of Paderborn, of Munſter, and the abbey of Fulda. Germany, as impoveriſhed by this peace as it had been by the war, could ſcarcely have paid its protectors dearer.

Theſe afflictions were however healed by the uſeful regulations made both in commerce and juſtice, by the care which was taken to regulate the complaints of every town, as well as of every gentleman, who laid their rights before the congreſs, as before a ſupreme court that was to determine the fate of the world. The particulars were prodigious.

France confirmed to itſelf for ever the poſſeſſion of three biſhoprics, and the acquiſition of Alſace, Straſburg excepted; but inſtead of being paid, like Sweden, ſhe is obliged to pay.

The archdukes of the branch of Tirol had three millions of livres for parting with their rights upon Alſace and Sundgaw. France paid both for war and peace; but ſhe did not purchaſe ſo fine a province dearly. Briſac and its dependencies were alſo hers, as well as the right to garriſon Philipſburg. Theſe two advantages ſhe has ſince loſt; but kept Alſace, which is

at

at length incorporated with that kingdom by Strasburg having given herself up.

There are few Civilians who do not condemn the wording of the cession of Alsace in this famous treaty of Munster. In it are found many equivocal terms. In effect, to give up "all sorts of jurisdiction and sovereignty," and to give up "the prefecture of ten free imperial towns," are two very different things. It is very probable, that the plenipotentiaries saw this difficulty, but did not choose to fathom it; well knowing, that there are many things, the veil of which time will remove, and power overthrow.

The house of the Palatine was restored to all its rights, except the Higher Palatinate, which was left to the Bavarian branch. An eighth electorate was erected in favour of the Palatine. Such was their attention to all rights and every complaint, that they went so far as to stipulate the payment of 20 000 crowns, which the emperor was to give to the mother of the count Palatine, Charles Lewis, and 10,000 to each of his sisters. Even he was well received who only came to demand the restitution of a few acres of land. All things were discussed and regulated. There were 140,000 restitutions appointed. The restitution of Lorrain, and the affair of Juliers, submitted to an arbitration. Germany has at last peace, after a war of thirty years; but France has not.

The troubles of Paris, in 1647, emboldens Spain to make her own advantage of it, who declines engaging in the general negotiation. The states-general, who were to have treated at Munster as well as Spain, make a separate peace with Spain, in spite of all the obligations they had to France, the treaties which tied them down, and the interests which seemed to bind them to their ancient protectors. The Spanish minister made use of a very singular artifice to engage the states to this breach of faith: he persuaded them, that he was ready to give the Infanta in marriage to Lewis IV. with the Low Countries by way of a dower. This soon frightened the states into his measures. It was no more than

a lye;

a lye; and indeed, properly ſpeaking, what difference is there between the art of politics and the art of lying?

In this important treaty of Weſtphalia the Roman empire had hardly any ſhare. Sweden had no buſineſs to quarrel with the ſovereign of Italy, but with the king of Germany. France had ſome points to regulate which Ferdinand could not agree to but as emperor: theſe concerned Pignerol, the ſucceſſion of Mantua and of Monferrat, which were fiefs of the empire. It was ſettled that the king of France ſhould pay about 600,000 livres to "Monſieur the duke of Mantua, upon the receipt of Monſieur the duke of Savoy;" provided that he ſhould keep Pignerol and Caſal in full and independent ſovereignty of the empire. France has ſince loſt theſe poſſeſſions, as Bremen, Verden, and part of Pomerania, have been taken from Sweden; but the treaty of Weſtphalia, as far as it concerns the regulating of Germany, has always remained reſpected, and is ſtill inviolable.

A DESCRIPTION *of* GERMANY,

From the PEACE *of* WESTPHALIA, *to the Death of* FERDINAND III.

THUS the chaos of German government was not well ſettled in leſs than 1700 years, reckoning from the reign of Henry the Fowler, before whoſe time it had not been a government. The prerogatives of the kings of Germany had not been reſtrained to proper limits; moſt of the rights of the electors, of the princes, of the immediate nobleſſe, and of the towns, were not inconteſtibly fixed till after the treaty of Weſtphalia. Germany was a grand ariſtocracy, at the head of which was a king not unlike thoſe of England, Sweden, and Poland, or ſuch a form of government as had been anciently received by the ſtates, founded by the people who came from the North and the Eaſt. The diet was in the place of a parliament, where

where the imperial towns had a right to vote, to determine peace or war.

These imperial towns enjoy regal rights equally with the princes of Germany: they are states belonging to the empire, and not to the emperor: they neither pay the smallest imposts, nor do they contribute to the necessities of the empire, but in the most urgent cases. Their tax is regulated by the general register. If they have the right of finally determining or judging, *de non appellando*, without appeal, they are absolutely sovereign states. Nevertheless, with all these rights, they have very little power, because they are surrounded with princes who have a great deal. The inconveniences annexed to a government so complicated and mixed, in so extended a country, still subsisted; as did the state itself. The multiplicity of sovereignties served to balance each other, until, in the heart of Germany, a power forms itself sufficiently great to swallow up the rest.

This vast country repairs insensibly its loses after the peace of Westphalia. Its lands are cultivated, and its towns rebuilt. In the following years these were the most remarkable things that happened to a body every where wasted and torn; who availed herself now of the grievances she had sustained from her own members during thirty years.

When it is said, that Germany was in those times a free country, this is to be understood of the princes and imperial towns; for all the intermediate towns are subject to greater vassals, to whom they belong; and the condition of the inhabitants of the country is middling, between a slave and a subject; particularly in Suabia and Bohemia.

Hungary, like Germany, breathes a little, after so many intestine wars, and such frequent invasions of the Turks; she standing in need of being recruited, repeopled, and polished; but always jealous of her right of electing a sovereign, and preserving under him her privileges. When Ferdinand III. causes his son Leopold, then seventeen years old, to be elected king of Hungary in 1664, they make his Serene Highness sign a capi-

a capitulation as binding as that of the emperor. It is to be obſerved that the Hungarians uſe Serene Highneſs inſtead of Majeſty; a title they never give to any but the emperor, or the king of the Romans. But the Hungarian lords were not ſo powerful as the German princes: they had neither Swedes nor French to guarantee their privileges: they were rather oppreſſed than aſſiſted by the Turks; and for this reaſon Hungary has been at length intirely ſubdued, in our time, after new inteſtine wars.

The emperor, after the treaty of Weſtphalia, found himſelf peaceable poſſeſſor of Bohemia, devolved to him as a patrimony; of Hungary, which he looked upon as an inheritance, while the Hungarians thought themſelves an elective kingdom, and of all the provinces to the extremity of Tirol. He had no territory in Italy.

The name of the Holy Roman Empire always ſubſiſts. It is difficult to define what it is beſides Germany, and what Germany is beſides the empire. Charles V. had juſtly foreſeen, that if his ſon Philip II. had not, together with the imperial throne, enjoyed the crowns of Spain, of Germany, of Naples, and of Milan, ſcarcely more had remained to him than the name of Empire. In effect, when the great fief of Milan was, as well as Naples, in the hands of the Spaniſh branch, this branch found itſelf, at the ſame time, that it was a titulary vaſſal of the empire and the pope, protecting one, and giving laws to the other. Tuſcany and the principal towns in Italy ſecure themſelves in their ancient independence of the emperors. A Cæſar who had no dominions in Italy, and who in Germany was only the chief of a republic of princes and ſtates, could not pretend to command like a Charlemagne or an Otho.

We ſee, in all the courſe of this hiſtory, two great deſigns carried on for near 800 years; that of the popes hindering the emperors to reign in Rome, and that of the German lords preſerving and increaſing their privileges.

It was in this condition that Ferdinand III. at his death, in 1657, left the empire, while the Spaniſh branch

branch of Auſtria ſtill carried on that long war with France, which was finiſhed by the Pyrenean treaty, and the marriage of the Infanta Maria Thereſa with Lewis XIV.

Theſe events are ſo recent, and ſo very well known, as well as recited by all hiſtorians, that it would be needleſs to repeat here what nobody is ignorant of. From this ſituation of affairs, a general idea may be formed of the empire, down from thoſe days to ours.

The STATE of the EMPIRE under LEOPOLD.

FORTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

IT is to be remarked, that at firſt, after the death of Ferdinand III. the empire was near paſſing out of the houſe of Auſtria; but in 1658 the electors imagined themſelves obliged to chooſe Leopold Ignatius, the ſon of Ferdinand, who was then eighteen years old; but the good of the ſtate, the neighbourhood of the Turks, and private jealouſies, contributed to the election of a prince, whoſe houſe was ſufficiently powerful to ſupport, but not to enſlave the German empire. They had formerly elected Rodolphus de Hapſburg, becauſe he had ſcarcely any territories. The empire was continued to his poſterity, becauſe they had a great deal.

The Turks, ſtill maſters of Buda, the French poſſeſſors of Alſace, the Swedes of Pomerania and Bremen, made this election neceſſary; ſo natural is the idea of æquilibrium amongſt all men.

Beſides, it was in Leopold's favour that there had been ten emperors ſucceſſively of the ſame houſe: ſo many pleas are generally attended to when the public liberty is not thought to be in danger. It is thus that the elective throne of Poland has continued always hereditary in the Jagellon family.

Italy could not be an object for the miniſtry of Leopold: there was no longer any need of ſeeking a crown at Rome, and ſtill leſs of exerting the Auſtrian claims as lord

lord paramount over Naples and Milan. But France, Sweden, and Turkey, employed the Germans all this reign. Theſe three powers, one after another, being either limited, repulſed, or vanquiſhed, without Leopold's drawing his ſword. This prince, the leaſt warlike of his time, always attacked Lewis XIV. when France was in the moſt flouriſhing condition; at firſt, after the invaſion of Holland, when he furniſhed the United Provinces with an aſſiſtance which he had not extended to his own houſe at the invaſion of Flanders; and ſome years after, at the peace of Nimeguen, when he made that famous league of Augſburg againſt Lewis XIV. and at laſt, at the time when, in the moſt aſtoniſhing manner, the king of France's grandſon was raiſed to the Spaniſh throne.

Leopold, in all theſe wars, knew how to intereſt the Germanic body, and to make them declare them wars of the empire. The firſt was unfortunate enough, and the emperor received law from the treaty of Nimeguen. The interior parts of Germany were not ravaged by theſe wars, as they had been by the war, which laſted thirty years; but the frontiers, on the ſide of the Rhine, were damaged. Lewis XIV. had always the ſuperiority; nor could it well happen otherwiſe; able miniſters, experienced generals, a kingdom every where united, places well fortified, armies well diſciplined, and a formidable artillery, as well as excellent engineers, muſt neceſſarily have the better of a country where theſe advantages are wanting. It is aſtoniſhing that France did not ſucceed better againſt armies levied in haſte, often ill paid, and ſubſiſted ſtill worſe; the leaders of which were princes who ſeldom agreed, and who had different intereſts to purſue. France in this war, which was ended by the treaty of Nimeguen, owed its ſuperiority to the excellence of its government beyond that of Germany, Spain, and the United Provinces, which were but badly united.

Fortune was leſs unequal in the ſecond war produced by the league of Augſburg. Lewis XIV. had then againſt him England joined to Germany and Spain. The duke of Savoy was in the league; and Sweden,

that had been ſo long the ally of France, abandoned her; furniſhing troops againſt her in quality of a member of the empire. Notwithſtanding there were ſo many allies, they could ſcarcely do more than defend the empire; nor could they, at the peace of Ryſwick, with all their power, force Straſburg from Lewis XIV.

The third war was indeed more proſperous to Leopold and Germany; yet at this time the king of France was more powerful than ever: he governed Spain in the name of his grandſon, and had under him the Spaniſh Low Countries and Bavaria; beſides which, his armies were in the midſt of Italy and Germany. The memorable battle of Hochſtedt gave things an intire new face. Leopold died in the following year 1705, convinced that France would be ſoon cruſhed, and Alſace reunited to Germany. The grandeur of Lewis XIV. was of the greateſt ſervice to Leopold during his whole reign. This grandeur made him ſo vain, oſtentatious, and haughty, that he irritated rather than intimidated all his neighbours, more eſpecially the Engliſh.

They impute to him his having a notion of univerſal monarchy: but had Leopold inherited the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, which he ſeemed for ſome time very likely to do, this emperor being then abſolute maſter of Hungary, whoſe boundaries were very extenſive, being very powerful in Germany, poſſeſſing Spain and the abſolute dominion of one half of Italy, as well as ſovereign of the beſt part of the new world; thus enabled to ſupport the rights and pretenſions of the empire, he had effectually appeared to have made the neareſt approach to univerſal monarchy. They affected to fear this in Lewis XIV. becauſe, after the peace of Nimeguen, he ſeemed inclined to make the three biſhoprics depend on him for certain lands which they hold of the empire; and yet they did not fear it in Leopold or his iſſue, who were near reigning over Germany, Spain, and Italy.

Lewis XIV. in irritating his neighbours, did infinitely more ſervice to the houſe of Auſtria than he could poſſibly have done hurt to it by his power.

Of

Of HUNGARY and the TURKS, During the Time of LEOPOLD.

LEOPOLD never riſqued any thing in the wars which he waged from his cloſet againſt Lewis XIV. Germany and its allies bore all the burden, and defended his hereditary dominions; while, on the ſide of Hungary and the Turks, there was nothing to be expected but trouble and danger. The Hungarians were only the remains of a once numerous nation, that ſurvived the deſtructions of civil war, or the ſabre of the Ottomans: they ſword in hand tilled the ſoil which was ſtill wet with the blood of their anceſtors. The lords of theſe unhappy cantons endeavoured, at one and the ſame time, to defend their privileges againſt the authority of their king, and their liberty againſt the Turk, who, whilſt he protected, deſtroyed the country. The Turks acted in Hungary exactly as the French and Swedes had done in Germany; but the Turks were more dangerous, and the Hungarians more unfortunate than the Germans.

One hundred thouſand Turks march, in 1663, towards Neuhauſel. It is true that they were vanquiſhed, the year after, near St. Godarth, upon the Raab, by the famous Montecuculi. This victory is much boaſted of, but was certainly far from being deciſive. What was the conſequence of this victory, but a ſhameful treaty, by which Tranſilvania, and all the territory of Neuhauſel, is yielded to the Turks, who raze to the ground the fortifications of the neighbouring citadels? The Turks give Tranſilvania to Abaſſi, or rather ſettle him in it, and ſtill deſtroy Hungary, notwithſtanding the treaty.

Leopold at that time had no child but the archduchеſs, who was afterwards electreſs of Bavaria; and the Hungarian lords have ſome thoughts of chooſing a king of their own nation, ſhould Leopold die.

Their projects, their ſteadineſs in ſupporting their rights, and their conſpiracies, coſt Serini, Frangipani, Nadaſti, and Tattenback, their heads.

The Imperialiſts ſeize on the caſtles of all who had befriended theſe unfortunate men. The great dignities of Palatine of Hungary, judge of that kingdom, and of the ban of Croatia, are ſuppreſſed, and the form of juſtice gives countenance to rapine. This exceſs of ſeverity drives them at firſt into conſternation, afterwards into deſpair. Emeric Tekeli puts himſelf at the head of the malecontents, and all Upper Auſtria is in a flame.

Tekeli treats with the Porte; at which time the court of Vienna ſoothes the malecontents of Hungary. She re-eſtabliſhes the office of Palatine, confirms the privileges for which they had fought, and promiſes to reſtore the eſtates that had been confiſcated; but this condeſcenſion, after ſo much ſeverity, wears the appearance of a ſnare. Tekeli believes there is more to be got by adhering to the Turkiſh than the Imperial court. He is made prince of Hungary by the Turks, on condition of paying a tribute of 40,000 ſequins. In the year 1682, Tekeli, aſſiſted by ſome troops under the command of the baſha of Buda, ravages Sileſia; and this baſha takes Tokai and Eperies, whilſt the ſultan Mahomet IV. prepares the moſt formidable armament that the Ottoman empire had ever made againſt the Chriſtians.

We do not ſee how the emperor could have oppoſed the Turks, had they taken this ſtep before the treaty of Nimeguen; ſeeing after that his reſiſtance was not very great.

The grand vizier, Kara Muſtapha, traverſes Hungary with above 250,000 foot, 30,000 ſpahis, with baggage and artillery in proportion to ſo great a multitude. He drives Charles V. duke of Lorrain, every where before him, and lays ſiege to Vienna, unreſiſted.

The

The SIEGE of VIENNA in 1683; together with it CONSEQUENCES.

THIS ſiege of Vienna ought to demand the attention of poſterity. This town had been in ſome meaſure the capital of the Roman empire, and the reſidence of ten emperors of the houſe of Auſtria ſucceſſively; yet it was neither ſtrong nor large. Had this capital been taken, no place between it and the Rhine could have held out. Vienna and its ſuburbs contained about 100,000 citizens; two-thirds of which at leaſt inhabited the ſuburbs, which were intirely defenceleſs. Kara Muſtapha advanced upon the right of the Danube, followed by 330,000 men, including all that attended this formidable expedition. It is pretended that it was the grand viſier's deſign to take Vienna for himſelf, and make it the capital of a new kingdom independent of his maſter. Tekeli, with the Hungarian malecontents, marched on the other ſide of the river Danube. The whole kingdom of Hungary was loſt, and Vienna threatened on every ſide. Duke Charles of Lorrain had not above 24,000 fighting men to oppoſe the Turks, who haſten their march. A ſlight combat enſues at Petronella, not far from Vienna, which ſerves only to diminiſh the prince's already weak army.

On the 7th of July, the emperor Leopold, the empreſs his mother-in-law, the empreſs his wife; the archdukes, the archducheſſes, and all their houſehold, quit Vienna, and retire to Lintz. Two-thirds of the inhabitants follow the court in deſpair. There is nothing to be ſeen but fugitives, equipages, and carriages laden with moveables; which laſt fall into the hands of the Tartars. The retreat of the emperor to Lintz brings with it only terror and confuſion. The court does not think itſelf ſafe there. It flies from Lintz to Paſſau. The conſternation at Vienna increaſes. The ſuburbs are burnt, with all the houſes of pleaſure, the body of the town is haſtily fortified, and ſupplied with ammu-

nition and warlike ſtores. They were not at all prepared when the Turks opened the trenches; which they did on the 17th of July, in the ſuburb of St. Ulric, 50 paces from the counterſcarp.

The count de Staremberg, governor of the town, had 17,000 men in garriſon, of whom there were not above 8,000 effective. Such of the citizens as remained in Vienna, and even the ſtudents of the univerſity, were armed. The profeſſors and ſcholars mounted guard, and their major was a phyſician.

To complete the misfortune, they are in want of money, and find the raiſing of 100,000 rixdollars very difficult.

The duke of Lorrain had vainly endeavoured to preſerve a correſpondence between the town and his little army; but all he was able to do was to cover the emperor's retreat. He was obliged to repaſs the Danube on bridges thrown over it for that purpoſe, and was far north of the town, while the Turks ſurrounding it puſhed their trenches in open day. He makes head againſt Tekeli's Hungarians, and protects Moravia; but Moravia as well as Vienna ſeems near falling into the hands of the Turks.

The emperor preſſes the aſſiſtance of Bavaria, Saxony, and the circles; but above all of John Sobieſky, king of Poland, who had been long the terror of the Turks while general of the crown, and who owed his throne to his victories. Yet theſe aſſiſtances could not poſſibly arrive in a little time.

By the month of September, they had made a breach in the body of the place ſix fathoms wide, and it ſeemed to be abſolutely left without any hopes of reſource. It might have fallen into the power of the Turks more eaſily than Conſtantinople had done, but the ſiege was not conducted by a Mahomet II. The ſluggiſhneſs and inactivity of the grand vizier, but above all his contempt for the Chriſtians, prevented the ſiege being carried on with ſpirit.

The ſpace of ground taken up by his tents, was equal to that of the beſieged town. He had baths, gardens, and

and fountains, and in the midſt of the progreſs of ruin, wantoned in exceſs of luxury.

John Sobieſky at length paſſes the Danube, ſome leagues above Vienna; and the troops of Saxony, Bavaria and the circles being alſo arrived, they make a ſignal to the beſieged from the top of the mountain of Calemberg, at a time that every thing began to fail them but their courage.

The imperial and Poliſh armies deſcend from mount Calemberg, of which the grand viſier had forgot to poſſeſs himſelf, extending themſelves in the form of an amphitheatre. The king of Poland led the right wing, at the head of 12,000 horſe and 4,000 foot, or thereabouts. Prince Alexander his ſon was very near him. The infantry of the emperor, and the elector of Saxony, were in the left wing. Duke Charles of Lorrain commanded the imperialiſts. The troops of Bavaria amounted to 10,000 men, and thoſe of Saxony to near the ſame number.

Never were there ſeen in any battle greater princes than in this. The elector of Saxony, John George III. was at the head of his Saxons; but the Bavarians were not headed by the elector Maximilian Emanuel. This young prince choſe rather to ſerve near the duke of Lorrain as a volunteer. He had received, from the emperor, a ſword enriched with diamonds, and when Leopold returned, after its deliverance, to Vienna, the young prince ſaluting him with this very ſword, ſhewed him what a noble uſe he made of his preſent. It was the ſame elector who was afterwards put under the ban of the empire.

The imperial cavalry was led by the prince of Saxe Lauenburg, ſprung from the ancient but unhappy houſe of Aſcania. The infantry was commanded by prince Herman of Baden, and the troops of Franconia, to the amount of 7,000, under the conduct of prince Waldeck.

Among the volunteers of this army, were three princes of the houſe of Anhalt, two of Hanover, three of Saxony, two of Neuburg, two of Holſtein, a prince of Heſſe Caſſel, one of Hohenzollern, and two of the

houſe of Wirtemberg; while a third diſtinguiſhed himſelf within the town. The emperor only was abſent.

This army amounted to 64,000 men: that of the grand vizier to double the number. So that this battle may be reckoned among thoſe which ſhew that the ſmaller number has gennerally the better of the greater, becauſe perhaps there is too much confuſion in large armies, and more order in the ſmaller.

On the 12th of September, Vienna was delivered; and this battle, if it can be called one, was fought. The grand vizier left 20,000 men in the trenches, and ordered the place to be aſſaulted, while he marched againſt the Chriſtian army. This laſt aſſault might have ſucceeded, as the beſieged began to want powder, and moſt of their cannon was diſmounted; but the ſight of aſſiſtance gave them new ſtrength.

In the mean time, the king of Poland having harangued his troops from rank to rank, marched at the head of one wing, againſt the Ottoman army; the duke of Lorrain at the head of the other. Never was battle leſs bloody or more deciſive. Two poſts taken from the Turks determined the victory. The Chriſtians did not loſe above 200 men: the Ottomans ſcarcely loſt a thouſand. This was the cloſe of day, and fear ſpread itſelf with the night into the vizier's camp, who retired precipitately with his whole army. So prodigious was the terror and ſtupidity, ariſing from their long ſecurity, that they abandoned their tents and baggage; leaving even behind them Mahomet's great ſtandard. Nothing can equal the vizier's errors in this battle, except that of leaving him unpurſued.

The king of Poland ſent Mahomet's ſtandard to the pope. The Germans and the Polanders were conſiderably enriched by the Turkiſh ſpoils. The king of Poland wrote to his wife, who was a French woman, daughter to the marquis d'Arquien, that the grand vizier had made him his heir; and that he had found in his tent to the value of ſeveral millions of ducats.

That letter is well known, in which he ſays: 'You cannot addreſs me as the wives of the Tartars do their huſbands, when they ſee them come home empty-handed,

handed, 'you are not a man ſince you return without booty.'

The day following, being the 13th of September, king John Sobieſky cauſes Te Deum to be ſung in the cathedral church of Vienna, and officiates in it himſelf. This ceremony was followed by a ſermon, the preacher of which took for his text theſe words: "There was a man ſent by God, and his name was John." The whole town thronged to return thanks to this king, and to kiſs the hands of their deliverer; as he relates himſelf. The emperor arrives there on the 14th, amidſt acclamations which were not for him. He viſits the king of Poland without the walls, and there is great difficulty to conduct ceremonials, at a time when acknowledgment ought to have got the better of formality.

The glory and the happineſs of John Sobieſky, had like to have been eclipſed by a diſaſter which was ſcarce to be expected, after ſo eaſy a victory. Being about to ſubdue Hungary, he intended to march through Gran, now Strigonia, in which progreſs he was to paſs by Barcam, where was lodged a conſiderable body of troops, under the command of a baſha. The king of Poland, without ſtaying for the duke of Lorrain, who followed him, advanced near the place with his Gen d'armes. Here the Turks fell upon the Poliſh troops, charged them in the flank, ſlaying 2000 of them. The vanquiſher of the Ottomans is obliged to fly: he is purſued; and with difficulty eſcapes, leaving his cloke in the hands of a Turk, who had overtaken him. Duke Charles of Lorrain at length comes to his aſſiſtance; and, to the glory of having ſeconded John Sobieſky, king of Poland, at the deliverance of Vienna, he joins that of delivering Sobieſky himſelf.

Hungary, on each ſide of the Danube, as far as Strigonia, ſoon falls again into the hands of the emperor. Strigonia is taken. It had belonged to the Turks near 550 years. They twice attempt the ſiege of Buda, and carry the place by aſſault in 1686. This was but the conſequence of a train of victories.

The duke of Lorrain and the elector of Bavaria, defeat the Ottomans in thoſe very plains of Mohats, where

Lewis II. king of Hungary had periſhed in 1526, while Soliman II. conqueror of the Chriſtians, covered the plains with 25,000 dead.

Diviſions and ſeditions at Conſtantinople, with the revolts of the Turkiſh armies, fought alſo in behalf of the quiet and happy Leopold. The inſurrection of the Janizaries, the depoſing of the weak Mahomet IV. Soliman III. advanced to the throne from a priſon in which he had been forty years confined, and the Ottoman troops ill paid, diſheartened and flying before a ſmall number of Germans, were all occurrences favouring Leopold. A warlike emperor, ſeconded by the victorious troops of Poland, might now have advanced to the ſiege of Conſtantinople, after having been upon the point of loſing Vienna.

Leopold judged it better to revenge the fear into which the Turks had thrown him, upon Hungary. His miniſters pretend, that it would be impoſſible to confine the Turkiſh inſolence within bounds, unleſs Hungary was re-united under an abſolute dominion. Yet they repelled the Turks from Vienna, with the troops of Saxony, Bavaria and Lorrain, and other German princes, who are under no deſpotic yoke; particularly with the Poliſh allies. The Hungarians might then ſerve the emperor as the Germans did, by remaining free like them; but there were two many factions in Hungary; the Turks were not the men to make the treaties of Weſtphalia in favour of this kingdom; and if they were not now in a condition to oppreſs the Hungarians, neither could they aſſiſt them.

The only congreſs between the Hungarian malecontents and the emperor is a ſcaffold; it is erected in the market-place of Eperies, in the month of March 1687, and kept ſtanding to the end of the year.

If ſome of the cotemporary hiſtorians are to be believed, the executioners were weary of ſacrificing the victims which were without much diſtinction delivered up to them. Antiquity cannot match a maſſacre ſo long and ſo terrible: there have been equal ſeverities, but none of ſuch continuance. Humanity does not ſhudder at the numbers that fall in battle: it is common; they

they die ſword in hand, and are revenged: but for nine long months, that people ſhould ſee their countrymen dragged as it were legally to open butchery, muſt be ſhocking to human nature, and ſo barbarous a ſight as to fill the ſoul with horror.

That which is more terrible for the people is, that theſe cruelties ſometimes ſucceed; and the ſucceſs of them encourages tyrants to uſe men like wild beaſts.

Hungary was ſubdued, the Turks twice repulſed, Tranſilvania conquered, and in the hands of the Imperialiſts. At length, while the ſcaffold is ſtill ſtanding at Eperies, the principal Hungarian nobility are ſummoned to Vienna, where, in the name of the whole people, they declare the crown of that kingdom hereditary; the ſtates afterwards aſſemble at Preſburg, where they confirm the decree; and Joſeph is crowned hereditary king of Hungary at nine years old.

Leopold was, at this time, the moſt powerful emperor, who had been ſince Charles V. Many happy circumſtances concurred to enable him at once, to continue the war againſt France till the treaty of Ryſwick, and againſt Turkey, till the peace of Carlowitz concluded in 1699. Both of theſe were of advantage to him. He treated with Lewis XIV. at Ryſwick on the footing of an equal, which could not have been expected after the peace of Nimeguen, and he negotiated with the Turks as a conqueror. Theſe ſucceſſes gave Leopold a manifeſt ſuperiority in the diets of Germany, which, tho' it did not take away the liberty of votes, made them dependent on the emperor.

Of the ROMAM EMPIRE under LEOPOLD.

GERMANY, under this reign, renews the bonds in which it had heretofore held Italy; for in that war which was ended at Ryſwick, while Leopold in league with the duke of Savoy, as well as with ſo many other princes againſt France, ſent troops towards the Rhine, he required contributions of all that did not belong to Spain. The ſtates of Tuſcany, of Venice on the Terra firma, the Genoeſe, and even the pope, paid more than 300,000 piſtoles. In the beginning of the century, when it happened that the provinces of the Spaniſh monarchy were diſputed with Lewis XIV's grand ſon, Leopold exerted the imperial authority in proſcribing the duke of Mantua, and giving the Mantuan Montferrat to the duke of Savoy.

I was alſo as Roman emperor, he gave the elector of Brandenburg the title of king. That the king of Germany ſhould make kings, was never agreed among nations; but ancient cuſtom had admitted princes to receive the title of king from him, whom the cuſtom aforeſaid calls the ſucceſſor of Cæſar.

Thus the chief of Germany having this name, beſtows names, and Leopold makes a king, without conſulting the three colleges. But when he created a ninth electorate in favour of the duke of Hanover, he created this German dignity, with the conſent of four electors,* as chief of Germany. Yet could he not fix him in the college of electors, where the duke of Hanover did not obtain a ſeat till after Leopold's death.

It is true that, in all capitulations, Germany is called the Empire. But this is an abuſe of words authorized by

* The duke of Hanover had no friends in the electoral college, but the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg; all the reſt, together with the college of the cities, oppoſed his advancement with great warmth.

by time. The emperors in their capitulations ſwear, "that they will not bring any troops into the empire, without conſent of the electors, princes, and ſtates." But it is clear by this word Empire, they then underſtood Germany, and not Milan, and Mantua; for the emperor ſends troops to Milan without conſulting any body. Germany is called the empire, as the ſeat of the Roman empire; a ſtrange revolution, which Auguſtus could never have ſuſpected. An Italian lord addreſſes himſelf without difficulty to the diet of Ratiſbon; he addreſſes himſelf, during the vacancy of the throne, to the electors of Saxony, of Bavaria, and to the Palatine; he obtains titles and territories when there is no body to oppoſe him. The pope indeed does not demand a confirmation of his election of the diet, but the duke of Mantua preſents him a petition, when Leopold puts him under the ban of the empire in 1700. This empire is then the right of the ſtrongeſt, the right of opinion founded on the happy incurſions of Charles V. and Otho into Italy.

The diet of Ratiſbon is become perpetual under the ſame Leopold, ever ſince 1664. This, which one would think, ſhould have increaſed its power, contributes to its weakneſs. Neither the princes who formerly made up this auguſt aſſembly, nor the electors, aſſiſt any longer at the coronation. They ſend deputies to the diet, and one deputy acts for two or three princes. The treating of weighty matters is either forgot or neglected, and Germany is ſecretly divided under the appearance of union.

Of

Of GERMANY,

In the Times of

JOSEPH and of CHARLES VI.

THE emperor Joſeph was unanimouſly choſen king of the Romans, by all the electors, when only twelve years old, in the year 1690; an evident proof of the authority of his father Leopold; a proof of the great ſecurity the electors were in with reſpect to their rights, which they would not have ſacrificed; a proof of the firm agreement between all the ſtates of Germany and their chief; which the power of Lewis XIV. had cemented more ſtrongly than ever.

In this capitulation he promiſes to obſerve the treaty of Weſtphalia, in every thing, but where the advantage of France is concerned.

The reign of Joſeph was ſtill happier than that of Leopold. The money of the Engliſh and Dutch, the ſucceſs of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, make him every where victorious, and his good fortune makes him almoſt abſolute. He begins by putting under the ban of the empire, in conſequence of his own authority, the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, becauſe they were the partizans of France, and he ſeizes on their dominions. He gives the Higher Palatinate to that branch of the Palatine which had loſt it under Ferdinand II. and, at the peace of Raſtadt and of Baden, he afterwards reſtores it to the Bavarian branch.

He acts in reality like a Roman emperor in Italy. He confiſcates the Mantuan for his own uſe; he at firſt takes the Milaneſe for himſelf, which he afterwards gives to the archduke his brother: but he keeps the towns and revenues of it, by dividing from this country Alexandria, Valenza, and Lomelina, in favour of the duke of Savoy, on whom, to ſecure him in his intereſt, he beſtows the inveſtiture of Montferrat. He plunders the duke of Mirandola, and gives his poſſeſſions to the duke of Modena. Charles V. had not been more abſolute in Italy; nor

nor had Clement VII. been more alarmed, than was now Clement XI. Joſeph goes to deprive him of the duchy of Ferara, in order to reſtore it to the houſe of Modena, from which the pope had taken it.

His armies poſſeſſing Naples in the name of the archduke his brother, and Bologna, Ferara, and part of Romagnia, in his own name, already threatened Rome. It was certainly the pope's intereſt that there ſhould be a balance in Italy; but this balance victory had deſtroyed. All the princes were ſummoned, and all poſſeſſors of fiefs to produce their titles. The duke of Parma, who held at that time of the holy ſee, had but fifteen days allowed him to do homage to the emperor. At Rome was diſtributed a manifeſto attacking the temporal power of the pope, and annulling all the donations which the emperors had made, without the concurrence of the empire. It is certain, that if by this manifeſto they ſubjected the pope to the emperor, they alſo rendered the emperors dependent upon the imperial decrees of the Germanic body: but reaſons and arms are at one time uſed, which at another are rejected; and all they endeavoured at preſent was having ſome title to rule in Italy as cheaply as they could.

All the princes were aſtoniſhed. It was ſcarcely to be expected, that thirty-four cardinals ſhould at this time have the boldneſs and generoſity to do that, which neither Venice, Florence, Genoa, nor Parma, dared to undertake. They raiſed a little army at their own expence; one laying down 100,000 crowns, another 24,000, this ſending 100 horſe, and that 50 foot.

The peaſants were armed. But the ſole conſequence of this undertaking was, their ſubmitting ſword in hand to the terms preſcribed by Joſeph. The pope was obliged to diſband his army, to preſerve no more than 5000 men in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; to ſubſiſt the Imperial troops, to abandon to them Comacchio, and to acknowledge the archduke Charles king of Spain. In 1709 he deprives the duke of Savoy of the Viginevaſque and the fief of Langues; nor yet does that prince dare to quit his party.

Joſeph

Joſeph dies, aged 33, in the year 1711, amidſt all his proſperity. Charles VI. his brother, ſucceeded him, and found himſelf maſter of all Hungary in a ſtate of ſubjection; the hereditary dominions of Germany, which were very flouriſhing; the Milaneſe, the Mantuan, Naples, Sicily, and the nine provinces of the Low Countries; and had the propoſitions made in the year 1709 by France, then very much weakened, been liſtened to, Charles VI. had been alſo maſter of Spain and the New World. It was then that there was no balance of power in Europe. The Engliſh, who had fought for this balance only, murmur againſt queen Anne for re-eſtabliſhing it, by the peace of Utrecht; ſo much did hatred againſt Lewis XIV. prevail over real intereſt. Thus, after the particular peace of Raſtadt and of Baden, Charles VI. is the moſt powerful prince in Europe.

But as powerful as he was when he took poſſeſſion of the empire, the Germanic body ſupported, nay, augmented their rights more than ever. The capitulation of Charles VI. implies, that no German prince or ſtate ſhall be put under the ban of the empire, but by the conſent of the three colleges, &c. They yet recalled in this capitulation the treaty of Weſtphalia, which had always been regarded as a fundamental law.

Germany was quiet and flouriſhing under the reign of this laſt Auſtrian emperor; for the war of 1716, againſt the Turks, was only waged upon the Ottoman frontiers, and nothing could have been more glorious.

Prince Eugene there increaſed the vaſt reputation which he had before acquired in Italy, Flanders, and Germany. The victory of Peterwaradin, and the taking of Temiſwaer, ſignalized the campaign in 1716. The year following he had ſtill more ſurpriſing ſucceſſes; for in beſieging Belgrade, prince Eugene found himſelf ſurrounded in his camp by 150,000 Turks. He was circumſtanced like Cæſar at the ſiege of Alexia, or of the Czar Peter near Pruth. He did not imitate the Ruſſian emperor, who demanded peace; but, Cæſar like, defeated his numerous enemies, and took the town. He returned to Vienna, covered with glory, where they talked of trying him for having hazarded that ſtate which

which he had ſaved, and whoſe boundaries he had enlarged. An advantageous peace was the fruit of theſe victories. The ſyſtem of Germany was not at all broken in upon, either by the war or the peace, which augmented the emperor's dominions, and confirmed the Germanic conſtitution. Charles XII. king of Sweden's diſgraces add to the poſſeſſions of the houſes of Brandenburg and Hanover. The Germanic body was become ſtill more conſiderable. The treaty of Weſtphalia received in reality a blow by theſe acquiſitions; but all the rights which the ſtates of Germany had acquired by this treaty, were preſerved by taking ſome provinces from the Swedes, to whom they partly owed thoſe very rights which they enjoyed. The three religions eſtabliſhed in Germany maintained themſelves peaceably under the ſhade of their privileges, and ſlight inevitable differences no longer gave riſe to civil troubles.

It ought principally to be obſerved, that Germany was intirely changed under Leopold, Joſeph, and Charles VI. Their manners before this were rude, their lives unpoliſhed, the ſciences almoſt unknown, as well as convenient magnificence. There was ſcarcely one town well built, or a houſe erected upon the regular and noble principles of architecture; neither gardens, nor manufactures of merchandize or taſte. The northern provinces were intirely uncultivated; a thirty years war had ruined them. Germany was more altered in ſixty years, than ſhe had been from Otho to Leopold.

Charles VI. was conſtantly happy to 1734. The celebrated victories gained by prince Eugene over the Turks at Temeſwaer and at Belgrade, had enlarged the frontiers of Hungary. The emperor predominated in Italy, where he poſſeſſed Naples and Sicily, the Milaneſe, and the Mantuan. The imperial and ſupreme right over Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, which had been ſo long conteſted, were confirmed to him, by his giving the inveſtiture of theſe ſtates to don Carlos, ſon of Philip V. who thereby became his vaſſal. The imperial rights exerciſed in Italy by Leopold and by Joſeph, were then in their full vigour; and certainly, if an emperor had kept ſo many poſſeſſions in Italy, ſo many rights, with ſo many

many pretenſions, the 700 years ſtruggle of the Italian liberty againſt the German power might have eaſily been finiſhed by its ſubjection.

Theſe proſperities were limited by the uſe which Charles VI. made of his credit in Europe, by procuring, jointly with Ruſſia, the throne of Poland to Auguſtus III.

This was a ſingular revolution, whereby he loſt for ever Naples and Sicily, and enriched the king of Sardinia at his own expence, in order to give a king to Poland. Nothing ſhews better the fatality that preſides over events, and mocks the foreſight of man. It was his good fortune twice to have conquered 150,000 Turks; yet Naples and Sicily were taken from him by only 10,000 Spaniards in one campaign.

In the year 1700, could it have been poſſibly imagined, that Staniſlaus ſhould, 44 years after, have Lorrain in exchange for loſing the crown of Poland; and that, for the very ſame reaſon, Tuſcany ſhould be given to the houſe of Lorrain? If one reflects on the many events which have diſturbed and transformed ſtates, it will appear, that ſcarce any thing happens according to people's expectations, or as politicians have deſigned.

The latter years of Charles VI. were yet more unhappy: he imagined, becauſe prince Eugene had defeated the Turks with inferior German armies, much more eaſily might they be beaten by the Germans and Ruſſians joined. But, alas! he had no longer a prince Eugene; and, while the armies of the czarina Anne take Crimea, enter Walachia, and propoſe penetrating to Adrianople, the Germans were defeated. A diſadvantageous peace ſucceeds. Belgrade, Temeſwaer, Orſova, and all the country between the Danube and the Save, remain to the Ottomans. All the fruits of prince Eugene's conquests are thus loſt; and the emperor's only reſource is, that of impriſoning the unfortunate generals, ſtriking off the heads of ſuch officers as had ſurrendered the towns, and puniſhing thoſe who, purſuant to his orders, had clapped up a neceſſary peace.

He died ſoon after. The revolutions which enſued, are matter for another hiſtory; and the wounds, which ſtill bleed, are too freſh to be probed.

A philoſophical

A philoſophical reader, after having run through this long ſucceſſion of emperors, might reflect, that among them all, Frederic III. only lived 75 years, as Lewis XIV. only, among the kings of France; whilſt, among the popes, we ſee numbers of lives ſtretched beyond 84: not that the laws of nature in general make life longer in Italy than in Germany or France, but becauſe popes are commonly more abſtemious than kings, and that there are more popes than either emperors or kings of France.

The duration of the reigns of the emperors, which have paſſed in review before us, ſerves to confirm the rule which Newton has laid down for the reformation of ancient chonology. He ſuppoſes the generations of the ſovereigns of old to make out, one with another, twenty-one years each; and indeed the fifty emperors from Charlemagne to Charles VII. forming a period of near a thouſand years, admits each of them to have reigned about twenty years. We can reduce this Newtonian rule ſtill more in ſtates ſubject to frequent revolutions. Without going higher than the Roman empire, we ſhall find, in the ſpace of 500 years, about 90 reigns; that is, from Cæſar to Auguſtulus.

Another important reflection occurs; and that is, that there ſeems to be ſcarcely one emperor from the time of Charlemagne, who may be ſaid to have been happy. The luſtre of Charles V. eclipſes that of all his predeceſſors; yet he, wearied with continual checks in life, and tired with the plagues of ſuch a compounded adminiſtration, rather than diſguſted with the nothingneſs of grandeur, ſecludes a premature old age in an obſcure retreat.

We have not long ſince ſeen an emperor, maſter of the moſt reſpectable qualities, ſuſtain the moſt violent turns of fortune, while nature conducts him to the grave, even in the prime of life, by the moſt cruel diſorders.

This hiſtory is ſcarcely any more than a vaſt ſcene of weakneſſes, faults, crimes, and misfortunes; among which we find ſome virtues, and ſome ſucceſs; as fertile vallies are often ſeen among chains of rocks and precipices. This is likewiſe the caſe with other hiſtories.

Of

Of the KINGS of BOHEMIA,

From the End of the THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

OTTOCARUS, ſon to king Wenceſlaus the Blind, killed in 1280 fighting againſt the emperor Rodolphus.

Wenceſlaus the Elder, after the death of his father, is placed under the guardianſhip of Otho of Brandenburg in 1305.

Wenceſlaus the Younger, dies about a year after his father of debauchery.

Henry duke of Carinthia, earl of Tirol, brother-in-law of Wenceſlaus the Younger, is ſtripped twice of his kingdom; firſt by Rodolphus of Auſtria, ſon of Albert I. afterwards by John of Luxemburg, ſon of the emperor Henry VII.

John of Luxemburg, maſter of Bohemia, Sileſia, and Luſatia, killed at the battle of Creci in France, in 1346.

The emperor Charles IV.

The emperor Wenceſlaus.

The emperor Sigiſmund.

The emperor Albert of Auſtria.

Ladiſlaus, the poſthumous ſon of the emperor Albert of Auſtria, dies in 1457, at the ſame time that Magdalene, daughter to Charles VII. king of France, is on the road from Germany to be married to him.

George Podibrad, vanquiſhed by Matthias of Hungary, dies in 1471.

Ladiſlaus of Poland, king of Bohemia and of Hungary, dies in 1516.

Lewis, ſon of Ladiſlaus, alſo king of Hungary and Bohemia, is killed fighting againſt the Turks, aged only 20 years.

The emperor Ferdinand I. and after him the emperors of the houſe of Auſtria.

The ELECTORS of MENTZ,

From the End of the THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

VERNIER count de Falkenſtein, he who beſt ſupported his pretenſions to the town of Erfort, dies in 1284.

Henry Kenoderer, a Franciſcan frier, confeſſor to the emperor Rodolphus, dies in 1288.

Gerrard baron d'Eppenſtein, who fought at that battle in which Adolphus of Naſſau was killed, dies in 1305.

Peter Aichſpalt, a citizen of Triers, phyſician to Henry of Luxemburg, who cured pope Clement V. of a diſorder thought to be mortal, dies in 1320.

Matthias count de Burgeck, dies in 1328.

Baldwin, brother to the emperor Henry of Luxemburg, holds Triers and Mentz for three years. This is the only example of the kind.

Henry count de Virneburg, excommunicated by Clement VI. ſupports himſelf by war, and dies in 1353.

Gerlach de Naſſau, dies in 1371.

John de Luxemburg, count de St. Paul, dies in 1373.

Adolphus de Naſſau, to whom Charles IV. gave the little town of Hœhſt, dies in 1390.

Conrad of Vinſberg, who cauſed the Vaudois to be burned, dies in 1396.

John of Naſſau (this is he who depoſed the emperor Wenceſlaus) dies in 1419.

Conrad count de Rens, beaten by the landgrave of Heſſe, dies in 1431.

Theodore d'Urback, he ought to have contributed to the protection of printing, invented in his time at Mentz, dies in 1459.

Ditrich count of Iſenburg, and an Adolphus of Naſſau, long diſpute ſword in hand for the archbiſhopric. Iſenburg yields the electorate to his competitor Naſſau in 1463.

Adolphus dies in 1475.

Ditrich

Ditrich re-aſſumes the electoral ſee, builds the caſtle of Mentz, and dies in 1482.

Albert of Saxony dies in 1484.

Bertoldus of Henneberg, the principal author of the league of Suabia, and a great reformer of religious houſes, dies in 1504. Gualtieri falſely aſſerts that he died of a diſorder but little befitting an archbiſhop.

James of Libenſtein dies in 1508.

Uriel de Guimenguen dies in 1514.

Albert of Brandenburg, ſon of the elector John, at the ſame time archbiſhop of Mentz, of Magdeburg, and of Halberſtadt, who deſired much a cardinal's cap, dies in 1545.

Sebaſtian de Hovenſtein, doctor of the laws, in whoſe time Mentz is burned by a prince of Brandenburg, dies in 1555.

Daniel Brendel de Homburg dies in 1582, leaving behind him a name valued and reſpected.

Wolfgang of Dalburg: he deprives himſelf of the pleaſures of the chace, becauſe it damages the lands of his ſubjects, and dies in 1601.

John Adam of Bicken: he aſſiſts in France at the diſpute between cardinal du Perron and de Mornai: he dies in 1604.

John Schweighard de Cronberg, perſecuted a great while by the prince of Brunſwick, *the friend of God, and the foe to the prieſts*, delivered by the arms of Tilly, and dies in 1626.

George Frederic de Grieffenclau, principal author of the famous edict of the reſtitution of benefices which cauſed the 30 years war, dies in 1629.

Anſelmo Caſimir Wambold of Umſtadt, driven out by the Swedes, dies in 1647.

John Philip of Schœnbron brings the town of Erfort under his ſubjection, by the help of the French arms and the emperor Leopold's diploma: he dies in 1673.

Lotharius Frederic of Metternich, forced to cede his lands to the elector Palatine, dies in 1675.

Damien Hartard *von der Lien:* he builds the palace of Mentz, and dies in 1678.

Charles Henry of Metternich dies in 1689.

Anſelmo

Anſelmo Francis of Ingelheim, on whoſe town the French ſeize, dies in 1695.

Lothario Francis of Schœnbron, coadjutor in 1694, reſpected by all his cotemporaries, dies in 1729.

Francis Lewis, count Palatine, dies in 1732.

Philip Charles of Eltz, dies in 1743.

John Frederic Charles, count d'Holſtein.

The ELECTORS of COLOGNE.

ENGELBERG count de Walkenſtein, a good ſoldier, but an unhappy archbiſhop, taken in war by the inhabitants of Cologne, dies about the year 1274.

Siſroi count de Veſterbuch, not leſs a ſoldier, and more unfortunate than his predeceſſor, a priſoner of war for ſeven years, dies in 1298.

Vickbold de Holt, another warrior, but more happy, dies in 1305.

Henry count de Vinnanbuch, diſputes the electorate, and carries it from two competitors: he dies in 1338.

Valrame count de Juliers, a pacific prince, dies in 1352.

Guill de Geneppe, who heaped and left behind him great treaſures, dies in 1362.

John de Virnenburg forces the chapter to elect him, and ſquanders all the treaſures of his predeceſſors: dies in 1363.

Adolphus count de la March reſigns the archbiſhopric in 1364: is made count of Cleves, and has children.

Enchelberg count de la March.

Canon of Falkenſtein, coadjutor to the former, and at the ſame time archbiſhop of Triers, governs Cologne for three years, and is obliged to reſign it in 1370. There was brought to Cologne, while he governed, a body quite freſh of one of the innocents maſſacred by Herod, which gives freſh credit to the relics preſerved in that town.

Frederic count de Saverden, a peaceable prince, dies in 1414.

Theodore

Theodore count de Mœurs, diſputes the archbiſhopric with William of Ravenſberg, biſhop of Paderborn; but this biſhop of Paderborn being married, both dioceſes fall to the count de Mœurs. He alſo enjoys Halberſtadt, and dies in 1457.

Robert of Bavaria makes uſe of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, to aſſiſt him in ſubjecting Cologne; but is at laſt forced to fly, and dies in 1480.

Herman landgrave of Heſſe, who governed ſome years in the time of Robert of Bavaria, dies in 1508.

Philip count d'Oberſtein dies in 1515.

Herman de Veda, or Neuvid, turns Lutheran, after being biſhop thirty-two years, and dies in retirement in 1556.

Antony, brother to Adolphus biſhop of Liege and of Utrecht, dies in 1558.

John earl of Mansfelt, born a Lutheran, dies in 1562.

Frederic de Veda abdicates in 1568, reſerving to himſelf 30,000 florins of gold yearly: it is never paid him, and he dies miſerably.

Salentinus count of Iſenburg, after having governed ten years, aſſembles the chapter and nobility, when reproaching them with the ingratitude wherewith they had repaid the pains he had taken with them, he abdicates the archbiſhopric, and weds a counteſs de la March.

Gebhard Truchſes de Walburg quits his archbiſhopric for the beautiful Agnes de Mansfelt, which father Kolbs calls his Sacrilegious Spouſe. This father Kolbs was not polite. He dies in 1612.

Ferdinand, his land having been ravaged by the great Guſtavus, dies in 1650.

Maximilian Henry ſucceeds cardinal Mazarine in his retreat, and dies in 1688.

Joſeph Clement, who carried the electorate from cardinal de Furſtemberg, dies in 1723.

Auguſtus Clement.

The ELECTORS of TRIERS.

HENRY de Veſtigen ſubdues Coblentz: dies in 1286

Bœmond de Vanſberg deſtroys the caſtles of the rebel barons, and dies in 1299.

Ditrich de Naſſau cited to Rome to anſwer complaints made by his clergy, who afterwards refuſe him burial, dies in 1307.

Baldwin of Luxemburg, who joins Philip de Valois againſt Edward III. dies in 1354.

Bohemond de Sarbruck, who has in his old days great diſputes with the Palatine, dies in 1368.

Conrad of Falkenſtein makes great foundations, and reſigns the electorate to his nephew, in ſpite of the canons: he dies in 1388.

Vermer de Konigſtein, nephew to the laſt, reduces Vezel with artillery, and is almoſt always at war: he dies in 1418.

Otho de Zeigenheim, beaten by the Huſſites, dies on that expedition in 1430.

Raban de Helmſtadt, always at war with his neighbours, pawns his poſſeſſions, and dies inſolvent in 1439.

James de Sirck: the ravaged electorate of Triers not being ſufficient to ſubſiſt him, he is made biſhop of Mentz, and dies in 1456.

John de Baden (it was he who concluded the marriage between Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy) dies in 1501.

James de Baden, umpire between Cologn and the archbiſhop, dies in 1511.

Richard de Wolfrat, who for a long time takes part with Francis I. againſt Charles V. in their ſtruggle for the empire, dies in 1531.

John de Metzenhauſen encourages the ſciences, and improves his territory: dies in 1540.

John Lewis of the Hague, dies in 1547.

John d'Iſemburg, under whom Triers ſuffers much from the Lutheran arms, dies in 1556.

John de Leyen (he beſieged Triers) dies in 1567.

James de Els (he ſubdues Triers) dies in 1581.

John de Schonberg, in whoſe time the garment of Jeſus Chriſt was found at Triers, but whence it came is not exactly known, dies in 1599.

Lothario de Metternick joins briſkly the Catholic league, and dies in 1623.

Philip Chriſtopher of Sotern: he was taken priſoner by the Spaniards, and furniſhed France with a ſufficient pretext to declare war againſt Spain: he was reſtored to his ſee by the victory of Condé and Turenne: he dies in 1652, aged 87 years.

Charles Gaſpar de Leyen, driven out of his capital by the arms of France, but reſtored by the defeat of marſhal Crequi, dies in 1676.

John Hugo d'Orſbeck: he ſees Triers almoſt quite deſtroyed by the French; the war was always dreadful: he dies in 1711.

Charles Joſeph of Lorrain, coadjutor in 1710, ſuffers ſtill more by the war: dies anno 1715.

Francis Lewis count Palatine, biſhop of Breſlau and Worms, grand maſter of the Teutonic order, dies anno 1729.

Francis George de Schonbron.

The ELECTORS PALATINE,

From the End of the THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

LEWIS dies anno 1285: his father Otho was the firſt count Palatine of this houſe.

Rodolphus, ſon of Lewis, and brother to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, dies in England in 1319.

Adolphus the Simple dies in 1327.

Rodolphus II. brother to Adolphus the Simple, and ſon to Rodolphus I. father-in-law to the emperor Charles IV. dies in 1353.

Robert the Red dies in 1390.

Robert

Robert the Stubborn dies in 1398.
Robert the Emperor.
Lewis the Bearded and the Pious dies in 1436.
Lewis the Virtuous dies in 1449.
Frederic the Warlike, Philip's tutor, enjoys the electorate, though his pupil is alive: he dies in 1476.
Philip, ſon of Lewis the Virtuous, dies in 1508.
Lewis, ſon of Philip, dies in 1544.
Frederic the Wiſe, brother to Lewis, dies in 1556.
Otho Henry, Philip's grandſon, dies in 1559.
Frederic III. of the branch of Simmeren, dies in 1576.
Lewis VI. ſon of Frederic, dies in 1583.
Frederic, IVth of that name, grandſon to Lewis, dies in 1610.
Frederic, Vth of that name, ſon of Frederic IV. allied to James I. king of Bohemia, but driven out of his dominion, dies in 1632.
Charles Lewis, re-eſtabliſhed in the Palatine, dies anno 1680.
Charles, ſon to the preceding, dies without iſſue in 1685.
Philip William, of the branch of Neuburg, father-in-law to Leopold, to the king of Spain, and to the king of Portugal, dies anno 1690.
John William, ſon of Charles Philip, born in 1658: his country was deſtroyed by the war of 1689, and, at the peace of Ryſwick, the lands, which the houſe of Orleans diſputed with him, were adjudged by the pope's deciſive ſentence to this elector: he dies in 1716.
Charles Philip, the laſt elector of the houſe of Neuburg, dies in 1742.
Chriſtian Philip Theodore de Sultzbach.

The ELECTORS of SAXONY.

ALBERT II. great-grandſon of Albert the Bear, of the houſe of Anhalt, ſucceeds his anceſtors in 1260, and governs Saxony thirty-ſeven years: dies in 1297.

Rodolphus I. ſon of the ſaid Albert, dies in 1356.

Rodolphus II. ſon of Rodolphus I. dies in 1370.

Wenceſlaus, a younger brother of Rodolphus II. dies in 1388.

Rodolphus III. ſon of Wenceſlaus, dies in 1419.

Albert III. brother to Rodolphus III. the laſt elector of the houſe of Anhalt, which had poſſeſſed Saxony 227 years, dies in 1422.

Frederic I. of the houſe of Miſnia, ſurnamed the Warlike, dies in 1428.

Frederic the Affable dies in 1464.

Erneſt Frederic the Religious dies in 1486.

Frederic the Wiſe dies in 1525: it is he who is ſaid to have refuſed the empire.

John, ſurnamed the Conſtant, brother to the foregoing, dies in 1532.

John Frederic the Magnanimous dies in 1554, diſpoſſeſſed of his electorate by Charles V. from him the branches of Gotha and Weimar are deſcended.

Maurice, couſin in the fifth degree to John Frederic, inveſted by Charles V. dies in 1563.

Auguſtus the Pious, brother to Maurice, dies in 1586.

Chriſtian, ſon to Auguſtus the Pious, dies in 1591.

Frederic William, ten years adminiſtrator, dies in 1602.

Chriſtian II. ſon to Chriſtian I. dies in 1611.

John George, brother of Chriſtian, dies in 1656.

John George II. dies in 1680.

John George III. dies in 1691.

John George IV. dies in 1694.

Auguſtus

Auguſtus king of Poland, diſpoſſeſſed of the kingdom by the ſucceſſes of Charles XII. and reſtored by the ſaid Charles's misfortune, dies in 1733.

Frederic Auguſtus II. elector and king of Poland.

The ELECTORS of BRANDENBURG,

AFTER

Divers Electors of the Houſes of ASCANIA, BAVARIA, and of LUXEMBOURG.

FREDERIC de Hohenzollern, burgrave of Nuremberg, buys the marquiſate of Brandenburg from the emperor Sigiſmund for one hundred thouſand golden florins, re-purchaſed by the ſame emperor, he dies in 1400.

John I. ſon of Frederic, abdicates in favour of his brother, anno 1464: he is not taken notice of in the Memoirs of Brandenburg; ſo that he is not to be looked upon as an elector.

Frederic with the iron teeth, brother to the foregoing, dies in 1471.

Albert the Achilles, brother to the two latter: it is pretended that he abdicated in 1476, and that he died in 1486.

John, ſurnamed the Cicero, ſon of Albert the Achilles, dies in 1499.

Joachim I. Neſtor the ſon of John, dies in 1535.

Joachim II. Hector, ſon of Joachim I. dies in 1571.

John George, ſon of Joachim II. dies in 1598.

Joachim Frederic, ſon of John George, adminiſtrator of Magdeburg, dies in 1608.

John Sigiſmund, ſon of Joachim Frederic, divides the ſucceſſion of Cleves and Juliers with the houſe of Neuberg, dies in 1619.

George William, whoſe dominions were laid waſte by the thirty years war, dies in 1640.

Frederic William, who re-eſtabliſhes his country, dies in 1688.

Frederic, who erects into a kingdom part of the province of Pruſſia, of which he was duke, and which he had formerly held of Poland, dies in 1713.

Frederic William II. king of Pruſſia, who re-peoples the intirely ruined lands of Pruſſia, dies in 1740.

Frederic III. king of Pruſſia.

The ELECTORS of BAVARIA.

MAXIMILIAN, created in 1623, and at that time ranked among the electors, the firſt after the king of Bohemia, dies in 1651.

Ferdinand Maria, his ſon, died in 1679.

Maximilian Maria, who was of great ſervice in delivering Vienna from the Turks: he ſignalized himſelf at the ſieges of Baden and Belgrade; was put under the ban of the empire by the emperor Joſeph in 1706, and reſtored by the peace of Baden: he dies in 1726.

Charles Albert, his ſon, emperor, dies in 1745.

Charles Maximilian Joſeph, ſon of Charles Albert.

The ELECTORS of HANOVER.

ERNEST AUGUSTUS, duke of Brunſwick and Hanover, &c. created by the emperor Leopold in 1692, upon condition that he ſhould furniſh 6000 men againſt the Turks, and 3000 againſt France: he dies in 1698.

George Lewis, ſon of the former, received in the electoral college at Ratiſbon in 1708, with the title of arch-treaſurer of the empire, made king of England in 1714: he dies in 1727.

George II. his ſon, alſo king of England.

A LETTER

FROM THE AUTHOR

To her Serene Highness,

The Ducheſs Dowager of Saxe-Gotha.

Madam, *Calmar, March* 8, 1754.

YOUR auguſt name has adorned the beginning of theſe annals, permit that it may crown the end; this little abridgment was begun in your palace, with the aſſiſtance of the old manuſcript of my Eſſay upon Univerſal Hiſtory, which had lain there a long time; and though this manuſcript was no more than a very indigeſted collection of materials, I nevertheleſs made it uſeful. I had already cauſed the firſt volume of the Annals of the Empire to be be printed, when I was informed, that ſome looſe ſheets of this old manuſcript had fallen into the hands of a bookſeller at the Hague.

Theſe looſe ſheets, without either order or connexion, doubtleſs tranſcribed by an ignorant hand, diſfigured and falſified, were, to my great concern, reprinted ſeveral times at Paris and elſewhere.

Your ſerene highneſs has ſignified your reſentment upon this account in your letters to me. You know how very much the real manuſcript, which is in your poſſeſſion, differs from the fragments that have been publiſhed. It is my duty, loudly to reprove and condemn ſuch an abuſe; and above four months ſince I acquitted myſelf of this obligation in the letter to a profeſſor of hiſtory, prefixed to the Annals. And I now, Madam,

Madam, repeat this juſt proteſtation, under your favourable protection.

With reſpect to this ſmall abridgment of the Annals of the Empire, undertaken by your ſerene highneſs's orders, theſe orders themſelves, and the deſire of pleaſing you, would have rendered the truth ſtill more dear and ſacred to me, were ſhe not ſo by her own intrinſic worth.

This truth, to which our illuſtrious de Thou has ſacrificed, which heaped upon him ſo much affliction, and makes his memory ſo valuable, can it hurt me, in an age much more enlightened than his?

What weak fanatic can reproach me with having reſpected the three religions authorized in the empire? what fool would have had me play the controvertiſt, inſtead of writing as an hiſtorian? I am confined to facts. Theſe facts are proved; they are authentic. A thouſand pens have been employed about them. No juſt man can complain. A great queen aptly ſpoke thus of an hiſtorian: "They point out to us our duty by ſpeaking of the faults of our predeceſſors. The truth is hid from us by thoſe who ſurround us, and revealed to us by none but hiſtorians."

There have been emperors, unjuſt and cruel; popes and biſhops, unworthy of their ſtation. Who is there doubts it? It is the conſolation of the world to have faithful annals, which excite to virtue, by expoſing its crimes. What is it to the wiſe emperor who reigns in our days, that Henry V. and Henry VI. were cruel? What is it to the enlightened, the juſt, the moderate pontiff, who now fills the throne of Rome, that Alexander VI. has left behind him an odious memory? The horrors of paſt ages are the eulogiums of the preſent. Unhappily thoſe who are charged with the education of princes, hide from them theſe ancient truths. They accuſtom them in their infancy to ſee nothing but falſity, and thus prepare for the maſters of the world, while in their cradles, the poiſon of illuſion in which they are all their lives to be immerſed.

You, Madam, who are a lover of truth, and were pleaſed that I ſhould proclaim it, let me intreat you to receive this new homage, which I pay to you and to her.

I am, Madam, with the profoundeſt reſpect, and the moſt inviolable attachment,

Your moſt SERENE HIGHNESS's

Moſt humble and moſt obediant Servant,

V——

MISCELLANEOUS PIECES

OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

MISCELLANIES

IN

HISTORY, LITERATURE,

AND

PHILOSOPHY.

ON FABLE.

SOME rigid perſons, more ſevere than wiſe, have of late years endeavoured to proſcribe the ancient mythology, as a collection of puerile ſtories, unworthy the gravity of our modern manners. It would, notwithſtanding, be a melancholy affair to burn Ovid, Homer, and Heſiod, together with all our fine tapeſtry, our pictures, and operas: after all, there are many fables, which contain more philoſophy than, I fear, many of theſe philoſophers can juſtly pretend to. If they grant a toleration to the familiar tales of Æſop, why fall ſword in hand on thoſe ſublime fables which have been revered by mankind, whom they have inſtructed? They are, 'tis true, mixed with ſome things, which

which border ſomewhat upon the frivolous; for what is there perfect under the ſun? Yet every age will adopt Pandora's box, in the bottom of which is found conſolation for all the human race; Jupiter's two veſſels, which are perpetually pouring forth good and evil; Ixion embracing a cloud, at once the emblem and chaſtiſement of an ambitious mind; and, laſtly, the death of Narciſſus, the puniſhment of ſelf-love. Can there be any thing more ſublime than that Minerva, the goddeſs of wiſdom, ſhould ſpring from the head of the God of Gods? Can any thing be more true, or more pleaſing, than that the goddeſs of beauty ſhould be obliged to go accompanied with graces? Do not the goddeſſes of the arts, all of them daughters of Memory, inform us as well as Locke himſelf could, that without memory we are not capable of the ſmalleſt ſpark of ſenſe? the arrows of Cupid, his blindneſs, and his youth; Flora embraced by Zephyrus, &c. what are they but ſo many ſenſible emblems of nature? Theſe fables have outlived the religions by which they were conſecrated; the temples and Gods of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, are now no more; and yet Ovid ſtill ſurvives. We may deſtroy the objects of credulity, but the inſtruments of pleaſure will ſtill remain; and thoſe images, at once ſo true and ſo pleaſing, will ever be the favourite delight of the mind of man. Lucretius did not believe thoſe gods of fable; yet he has celebrated nature under the name of Venus.

Alma Venus cæli ſubter labentia ſigna
Quæ mare navigerum, quæ terras frugiferentes
Concelebras, per te quoniam genus omne animantum
Concipitur; viſitque exortum lumina ſolis, &c.

Delight of human kind, and gods above,
Parent of Rome, propitious queen of love,
Whoſe vital pow'r air, earth, and ſea ſupplies,
And breeds whate'er is born beneath the ſkies.
For every kind, by thy prolific might,
Springs, and beholds the regions of the light.

DRYDEN.

If

If antiquity, plunged in darkneſs, had confined itſelf to the acknowledging a ſupreme Being under thoſe images, could we with juſtice have loaded her with reproaches? The mind which created the world was adored by philoſophers; it governed the ſeas under the name of Neptune, the air under the emblem of Juno, and the fields under that of Pan; it was the god of armies under the name of Mars: they gave life and body to all the attributes: Jupiter was in truth their ſole deity: that golden chair, with which he lifted up gods and men, was a ſtriking image of a ſupreme Being, the ſovereign of the univerſe. The vulgar, it is true, were deceived; but of what conſequence are the vulgar to us?

It is a common queſtion, how the magiſtrates of Greece and Rome could ſuffer thoſe very deities that were worſhipped in their temples to be turned into ridicule on their ſtages? In this we proceed upon a falſe ſuppoſition: it was not the gods who were turned into ridicule on the theatre, but the follies and abſurdities attributed to theſe gods by thoſe who had corrupted the ancient mythology. The conſuls and pretors were not at all offended to ſee the people diverted on the theatres with the ſtory of the two Soſias; but they could never have ſuffered their poets to have attacked the worſhip of Jupiter and Mercury, in the preſence of the people. Thus there are a thouſand things which ſeem ridiculous to us, which are by no means ſo in themſelves. I have ſeen on the theatre of a nation juſtly celebrated for learning and good ſenſe, adventures which were drawn from the Golden Legend; ſhall we therefore ſay, that this nation permits the objects of religion to be inſulted? There is no danger the world ſhould become Pagans for having ſeen at Paris the opera of Proſerpine, or for having ſeen at Rome the marriage of Pſyche, painted by Raphael, in one of the pope's palaces. Fable ſerves to form the taſte, but, at the ſame time, without any danger of making converts to idolatry.

The beautiful fables of antiquity have this further advantage over hiſtory, which is, that they exhibit a morality which acts on the ſenſes: they are ſo many leſ-

ſons

ſons of virtue; whereas all hiſtory is but a relation of ſucceſsful crimes. In fable, Jupiter deſcends to puniſh a Lycaon and a Tantalus; but, in hiſtory, our Lycaons and our Tantalus's are the Gods who ſway all human affairs. Baucis and Philemon obtain their requeſt, and their cottage is turned into a temple: our Baucis and Philemon have their porride-pots ſold by the taxgatherers, which, in Ovid, are changed into gold and ſilver.

I know how capable hiſtory is of inſtructing us; I even know the neceſſity of that ſtudy; but yet it ſtands very much in need of ſome foreign aid, to be able to furniſh us with the rules of a prudent and virtuous behaviour. I could wiſh thoſe who know nothing of politics but what they have from books, would endeavour to keep in their remembrance theſe verſes of Corneille

Les exemples récens ſuffiraient pour m'inſtruire;
Si par l'exemple ſeul on dévait ſe conduire;
Mais ſouvent l'un ſe perd où l'autre s'eſt ſauvé,
Et par où l'un périt un autre eſt conſervé.

I want not for recent examples to inſtruct me, if we ought to direct our conduct aright by example only. But how often do we ſee that the ſtep which ſaves one man ſhall ruin another.

Henry VIII. who tyrannized over his parliaments, his miniſters, and his wives, and indeed over the purſes and conſciences of his people, lived and died in peace; whereas the good and brave Charles I. loſt his life on a ſcaffold. Our admirable heroine Margaret of Anjou gives battle twelve different times to the Engliſh, the ſubjects of her huſband, but in vain. William III. expels James II. out of his kingdom, in a manner, without drawing the ſword. In our own days, we have ſeen the imperial family of Perſia cut off, and aliens ſeat themſelves on their throne. For ſuch as look no further than events, hiſtory ſeems to be an accuſation of providence, and thoſe beautiful fables to be its juſtification.

ſication. One thing is evident, which is, that in theſe we find the uſeful and the pleaſing happily blended. Thoſe who are able to contribute nothing of either are they who declaim againſt fables. Let us leave ſuch folks alone to rail till they are weary; and, in the mean time, we will ſometimes read Ovid, as well as Titus Livius, and Rapin Thoiras. It is good taſte which gives the preference, whilſt the contrary conduct is that of a gloomy and an ill-natured fanaticiſm.

Tous les Arts ſont amis, ainſi qu'ils ſont divins:
Qui veut les ſéparer eſt loin de les connaître.
L'hiſtoire nous apprend ce que ſont les humains;
La fable ce qu'ils doivent être.

The union of the arts is as evident as their divine original; and he who attempts to ſeparate them knows little of them. Hiſtory teaches us what mankind are; Fable what they ought to be.

RELATION

CONCERNING A WHITE NEGRO,

Brought to Paris from Africa in 1744.

I HAVE ſeen, not long ſince, at Paris, a little creature, as white as ſnow, with a noſe and mouth ſhaped like thoſe of the negroes, and having, like them, ſhort curly wool on his head, but much finer, and of the moſt ſhining whiteneſs. His eye-laſhes and eye-brows are of the ſame wool, but not curled; his eye-lids are ſo long as to hinder him from diſcovering the pupil of the eye when he lifts them up, which pupil is perfectly orbicular. His eyes are above all extremely ſingular: the iris is red, ſomething inclined to a roſe colour; the pupil, which with us, and indeed almoſt all others of the human ſpecies, is in him of a very bright yellow. And inſtead of having an aperture in the iris, as both whites and negroes have, he has a yellow

yellow tranſparent membrane, through which he receives the light. From whence it follows, that all his countrymen muſt ſee objects in a very different manner from that in which we behold them; and if there ſhould chance to be a Newton among them, he would eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of optics entirely different from that of ours. They look exactly as the crabs go, that is, always ſide-long; and are all of them ſquint-eyed from their mother's womb: by this means they have the advantage of ſeeing on both ſides at once, and have a double axis of viſion, whilſt the fineſt eyes in this country have no more than one. But then they cannot bear the light of the ſun, and never ſee well excepting in the twilight. Nature has probably deſtined them to paſs their days in dens. They have, moreover, much longer and narrower ears than we. This creature is called a man, becauſe he is endowed with ſpeech, has memory, ſomething like what we call reaſon, and a kind of human countenance.

This race of men inhabit the interior part of Africa: the Spaniards call them Albinos. Their chief abode is near the kingdom of Loango. I cannot find out how Voſſius came to call them lepers. That which I ſaw at the Hotel de Bretagne had a very ſmooth ſkin, and exceedingly delicate, free from tetters or ſpeckles. This ſpecies is much more deſpiſed by the negroes, than the negroes are by us; and they can never find in their hearts to forgive them for having a pair of red eyes, and their little oily ſkin that is not as black as jet. They paſs with the negroes for an inferior ſpecies, made to be their ſlaves. When a negro happens to debaſe his nature by ſtooping ſo low as to make love to one of this ſpecies, he becomes the jeſt of all the other negroes. A female negro convicted of this baſe alliance, becomes the reproach of both court and city. I have ſince learned from travellers worthy of credit, and who have been inveſted with very great truſts in the Eaſt-Indies, that ſome of this race have been tranſported to Madagaſcar, to the iſle of Bourbon, and to Pondicherry. There is no example, they told me, of their living beyond the age of five and twenty. I am at a loſs

to

to ſay whether we ought to wiſh them joy or to condole with them on this occaſion.

It is but a few years ſince we found out that any ſuch ſpecies had a being. They had tranſported one of theſe diminutive creatures called White Moors into America. We find in the memoirs of the Academy of Sciences that Mr. Helvetius had been told of it, but nobody would give credit to the relation: for where we are apt blindly to believe every abſurdity, to make amends, we are commonly equally diſtruſtful of what is natural. The firſt time the Europeans were told of a kind of men as black as moles, it is extremely probable there was a violent fit of laughter, as there was ſince, when we were told of ſuch a thing as the antipodes. How is it poſſible, ſaid they, there ſhould be women that have not white ſkins? We have, ſince that, become familiarized to the varieties of nature. It has been diſcovered to have been the will of providence to make men with a black membrane and woolly heads in temperate climates; to place white people under the line; to bronze over the inhabitants of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; to give a quite different figure to the Chineſe than to us; and to place the pigmies of Lapland in the next country to that of the tall Swedes.

In ſhort, we now diſcover a new richneſs in nature, a ſpecies which reſembles ours no more than a pointer does a greyhound. There is probably yet another ſpecies in thoſe parts adjacent to the Terra Auſtralis. Hence then we ſee mankind are more favoured of Heaven than we at firſt imagined. It would have really been a melancholy affair had there been ſo many ſpecies of monkeys, and but one of men. It is certainly a thouſand pities that ſo perfect an animal as man ſhould be ſo little diverſified, and that we are able as yet to count no more than five or ſix ſpecies, while there is ſo charming a variety amongſt the brutes. It is exceeding probable ſome one of the ſpecies of two-legged animals without feathers may have periſhed, as has undoubtedly happened to many other kinds of creatures. This which we call White Moors is very far from being numerous: it would be no very difficult affair to annihilate

hilate the whole ſpecies; and were we to continue the peopling our convents in Europe, and the depopulating the globe, to be able to tell who is the king, I can hardly think our wretched ſpecies can hold out many years longer.

I am told for certain that theſe White Moors are a very haughty race; they imagine themſelves peculiarly favoured of Heaven: that they are filled with a holy horror of ſuch men as have the misfortune to have black hair or black wool on their heads, ſuch as do not ſquint, or whoſe ears are curtailed of their juſt amplitude. They have an opinion the whole univerſe was created for the White Moors; that ſome time ſince there have happened to them a few ſlight misfortunes; but that all will be well again, and that one day they will become the maſters of thoſe black negroes, as well as the whites, who are curſed of God to all eternity. Poſſibly they may be deceived; but ſhould we take it into our heads to imagine ourſelves of greater conſequence than they, we are certainly altogether as egregiouſly deceived *.

ON WIT.

A PERSON who had a competent knowledge of the human heart being aſked his opinion of a tragedy that was about to be performed, made anſwer, that there was ſuch a deal of wit in the piece, that he very much doubted of its ſucceſs. "What!" ſays one, "can that be a fault in an age in which every one aims at being witty; and write only to ſhew that they are ſo; and in which the public applauds even the falſeſt thoughts,

* It is not a very eaſy matter to diſcern the author's real deſign in this eſſay upon a white moor. If he intends it as a ſatire upon mankind in general, or any particular race, or ſect, or ſociety, we cannot pretend to explain his alluſions: but if he really thinks there is a nation of theſe white moors, he is miſtaken. A white moor is nothing but a *lũſus naturæ*, which happens perhaps once in a century, in the ſame manner as an hermaphrodite, or a monſtrous birth.

thoughts, provided they are brilliant ones; moſt aſſuredly, they will applaud it one day, and condemn it the next."

What is commonly called wit is ſometimes a new ſimile, and ſometimes a delicate alluſion. In one place, it is the abuſe of a word, which is offered to the reader under one ſenſe, and which he is to underſtand in one quite different. Now it is a delicate relation between two uncommon ideas; then it is an extraordinary metaphor; a ſearch after ſomething that an object does not preſent at firſt ſight, but that yet may be found in it; the art either of uniting two things naturally very diſtant, or of dividing two things, which ſeem naturally connected, or to place them in oppoſition to each other; that of ſaying only half one's thoughts, that the reader may have the pleaſure to find out the other half himſelf: in ſhort, I ſhould mention all the different ways of making our wit known, had I more of it myſelf: yet all theſe brilliants (for I do not ſpeak of mock-brilliants) are very ſeldom, if ever, ſufferable in a ſerious work, or in ſuch as ought to intereſt us. The reaſon is, that it is then the author who appears, whereas the public deſires never to ſee any perſon but the hero. Now this hero is always either in a paſſion or in danger. Neither danger nor paſſion ſeek after wit. Priam and Hecuba would not have made epigrams when Troy was in flames, and their children butchered before their faces. Dido does not vent her ſighs in madrigals, whilſt running towards the funeral pile on which ſhe is to give herſelf the fatal blow. Demoſthenes does not make uſe of pretty thoughts when he is ſtirring up the Athenians to war; had he done ſo, he had been a rhetorician, or a declaimer, whereas he was a ſtateſman.

The art of the admirable Racine is infinitely beyond what is called wit; but had Pyrrhus always expreſſed himſelf in ſuch a ſtile as this,

Vaincu, chargé de fers, de regrets conſumé,
Brûlé de plus de feux que je n'en allumai,
Helas! fus je jamais ſi cruel que vous l'êtes?

A fetter'd

A ſetter'd captive, and a vanquiſh'd wretch,
A prey to all the pangs of heart-felt grief,
Burning with flames more fierce than thoſe my rage
Kindled in falling Troy; ſay, was I e'er
So cruel, ſo obdurate as thou art?

Or, was Oreſtes continually crying,

Que les Scythes ſont moins cruels qu' Hermione.

E'en ſavage Scythians are more gentle far
Than is Hermione:

Theſe two characters had never produced any effect on the audience: they would have perceived that paſſion, which is real, very rarely amuſes itſelf with ſuch compariſons, and that there is very little connection between the flames which conſumed Troy, and thoſe of Pyrrhus; between the Scythians, who offered up human victims, and Hermione, who had no paſſion for Oreſtes. Cinna, ſpeaking of Pompey, ſays,

Le Ciel choiſit ſa mort, pour ſervir dignement
D'une marque éternelle à ce grand changement;
Et devait cet honneur aux Mânes d'un tel homme,
D'emporter avec eux la liberté de Rome.

His death was fix'd on by the righteous gods,
As the moſt glorious mark, the ſureſt monument,
To lateſt ages, of this wondrous change:
Reſolv'd, in honour to the hero's ſhade,
That Roman freedom ſhould with him expire.

This thought is certainly very ſplendid; there is a great deal of wit in it, and even a certain grandeur which dazzles at firſt ſight. I am ſure theſe verſes, pronounced with that enthuſiaſm of expreſſion, and the addreſs of an able actor, could not fail of applauſe; but I am alſo ſure, that were the tragedy of Cinna to be all written in the ſame taſte, it would not have been performed

performed for any length of time. And, to ſpeak the truth, why ſhould Heaven reſolve to do honour to Pompey by making his countrymen ſlaves after his death? the contrary had been much more conſiſtent with probability; and the name of Pompey ought rather to have endeavoured to obtain of Heaven the perpetuating that liberty for which we ſuppoſe he both fought and died.

What muſt a work, filled with ſuch paradoxes and far-fetched thoughts, really be? how ſuperior to all theſe dazzling ideas are ſuch ſimple and natural verſes as theſe?

Cinna, tu t'en ſouviens, & veux m'aſſaſſiner!
Soyons amis, Cinna, c'eſt moi qui t'en convie.

This Cinna thou remembereſt, and would'ſt kill me!
Yet we'll be friends; it is Auguſtus aſks it.

This is by no means what is called wit: it is the ſublime and the ſimple, in the union of which two qualities all true beauty conſiſts.

When Antiochus in Rhodogune, ſpeaking of his miſtreſs who leaves him, after having made him the baſe propoſal to murder his mother, ſays,

Elle fuit, mais en Parthe, en nous perçant le cœur.

She flies, but, like the Parthian, flying wounds.

Antiochus is aſſuredly very witty; this is really compoſing an epigram on Rhodogune; he makes a very ingenious compariſon between the laſt words ſhe utters on her going away, and the arrows which the Parthians, in their flight, ſhot back againſt their purſuers. But it is not his miſtreſs's leaving him, but the propoſal of killing his mother, which is ſhocking: whether Rhodogune went or ſtayed, Antiochus is equally love-ſick; but if ſhe had not gone away, there would have been no room for this wretched epigram.

I have

I have choſen to draw theſe examples from the beſt authors, on purpoſe that they might on that account have the greater weight. I omit pointing out the trivial points, and the playing upon words, whereof we eaſily diſcover the blemiſh. There is no perſon who does not burſt out in a fit of laughter, when, in the Golden Fleece, Hipſipile ſays to Medea, alluding to her enchantments,

Je n'ai que des attraits, & vous avez des charmes.

I have but beauty, you're poſſeſs'd of charms.

Corneille found the theatre, and indeed every ſpecies of compoſition, infected with ſuch puerilities, in which he very rarely indulges himſelf. I have no intention in this place to take notice of any ſtrokes of wit, but ſuch only as might be admitted elſewhere, and which are altogether faulty in the ſerious. We might apply to the authors who make uſe of them theſe words of Plutarch, as they are tranſlated by Amiot, with the ſimplicity peculiar to him: *Tu tien ſans propos, beaucoup de bons propos.*

I remember to have ſeen one of theſe ſplendid thoughts quoted as a model in many works of taſte, and even in the late Mr. Rollin's Treatiſe on Study. This paſſage is extracted from that beautiful funeral oration on the great Turenne, compoſed by Flechier. It is true, Flechier in this oration almoſt equals the ſublime Boſſuet, whom I have formerly called, and ſtill do call, the eloquent perſon among ſo many elegant writers; but I am of opinion the paſſage I am ſpeaking of would hardly have been made ſenſe of by the biſhop of Meaux. It is this:

Puiſſances, ennemies de la France, vous vivez, & l'eſprit de la charité Chrêtienne m'interdit de faire aucun ſouhait pour votre mort, &c. mais vous vivez: & je plains dans cette chaire un vertueux Capitaine dont les intentions étaient pures, &c.

Ye

Ye Powers, enemies to France, you yet ſurvive, and the ſpirit of Chriſtian charity forbids me to form a wiſh for your deaths, &c. Yes, you ſurvive, whilſt I appear in this place to perform the mournful office of lamenting a virtuous general, whoſe intentions were undefiled and pure, &c.

Such an apoſtrophe might have been ſeaſonable enough at Rome, in the time of the civil war after the murder of Pompey, or in London after that of Charles I. as the ſubject then would have related to the intereſts of Pompey and Charles I. But is it conſiſtent with decency, artfully to expreſs from the pulpit a wiſh for the death of the emperor, the king of Spain, and the electors, and to put them in the balance with the general of a king with whom they were then at war? ought the intentions of a captain, which could only be the ſerving his prince, to be compared with the political intereſts of crowned heads, againſt whom he was employed? what ſhould we have ſaid of a German who ſhould have wiſhed for the death of the king of France, becauſe count Merci, whoſe intentions were pure, happened to be killed? Why * then has this paſſage been commended on every occaſion by all the rhetoricians? The reaſon is, that this figure is naturally beautiful and pathetic; but they forget to examine the ſubſtance and fitneſs of the ſentiment it contained. Plutarch would have told Flechier, *Tu as tenu ſans propos, un trés-beau propos.*

I return to the paradox I have been advancing; that all thoſe glittering thoughts to which men have given the appellation of wit, ought never to have been admitted into great works, compoſed for the inſtruction of the public, or calculated to move the paſſions. I would not even ſtick to ſay, they ought to be baniſhed from our operas. Muſic expreſſes the paſſions, the ſen-

* Flechier copied one half of his funeral oration on marſhal Turenne from that which Lingendus, biſhop of Grenoble, had written on one of the dukes of Savoy. This paſſage, which was extremely proper for a ſovereign, is by no means ſo for a ſubject.

timents, and the images: but what accents are able to expreſs an epigram? Quinault has formerly been ſometimes neglected, yet he was always natural.

Of all our operas, that which is the moſt loaded with ornaments, or rather filled with this affectation of epigram, is the *Ballet du Triomphe des Arts*, compoſed by a very worthy perſon, who thought always in a very delicate and ingenious manner, and who expreſſed himſelf with equal elegance; but who, by the abuſe of this talent, has contributed ſomewhat to the downfal of letters, after thoſe happy days under Louis XIV. In this ballad, where Pygmalion gives life to his ſtatue, he tells her,

Vos premiers mouvemens ont été de m'aimer.

And your firſt movements were of love to me.

I remember to have heard this verſe admired in my youth by certain perſons. But who does not perceive that the motions of the body of the ſtatue are here confounded with the motions of the heart, and that in no ſenſe this phraſe makes good French? but is a point a mere witticiſm? How is it poſſible a perſon who had ſo much wit ſhould yet want ſenſe to retrench thoſe florid and dazzling faults? the man who deſpiſed and tranſlated Homer, and in his tranſlation thought he corrected him, and who, by abridging him, thought he had made him poſſible to be read, takes it into his head likewiſe to make Homer witty. This perſon, whilſt he makes Achilles ſeemingly reconciled to the Greeks, who are now ready to revenge his quarrel, makes the whole camp cry out:

Que ne vaincra-t-il point? il s'ſt vaincu lui-méme.

He ſure muſt conquer who ſubdued himſelf.

He muſt have been deeply in love with this falſe wit to cauſe an army of fifty thouſand men to expreſs themſelves by a point.

This

This play of the imagination, theſe pretty turns, theſe conceits, theſe gaities, theſe ſhort ſmart ſentences, theſe ingenious familiar expreſſions, men are ſo prodigal of at preſent, are only proper for trivial works, which are calculated for mere amuſement. The part of the Louvre by Perrault is at once ſimple and majeſtic. A cabinet may admit of little ornaments. Be as witty as you pleaſe, or even as you can be, in light copies of verſes, in a ſcene of a comedy, that is neither filled with paſſion, nor what we call ſimple nature, in a compliment, in ſome ſhort novel, or in a letter in which you would communicate your good humour to your friend.

Far from finding fault with Voiture for admitting wit into his letters, I am, on the contrary, of opinion, that he is not witty enough, though he was eternally ſtraining after it. Dancing-maſters are ſaid to make a bow with the worſt grace of any people, becauſe they aim at doing it better than any body elſe. I fancy this is exactly Voiture's caſe. His beſt letters are ſtudied; we perceive it has coſt him a great deal of labour to find out what offers itſelf of its own accord to count Antony Hamilton, to madam de Sévigné, and to many other ladies, who write ſuch trifles with the greateſt eaſe, better than Voiture could with prodigious efforts. Deſpreaux, who ventured to compare Voiture to Horace, in his firſt ſatires, changed his opinion, after his taſte had been ripened by age. I know it is of ſmall importance to mankind, whether he is, or is not, of an elevated genius; whether he has written only a few letters that can be called pretty, or whether all his pleaſantry ought to paſs for ſo many models. But perſons who love and cultivate the arts, are often particularly careful in examining what the reſt of the world is apt to look upon with the greateſt indifference. Taſte is, to the full, as neceſſary to us in the purſuit of literature, as it is to the ladies in matters of dreſs; and provided we do not make our opinions a party affair, methinks we may boldly ſay that there are few things that can be called excellent in Voiture, and that Marot might very eaſily be reduced to a few pages.

I would not, from what I have ſaid, be underſtood as deſiring to derogate from the reputation they have acquired; on the contrary, I would endeavour to let it be known exactly by what means they have acquired the reputation they enjoy, and what thoſe true beauties are which have, in ſome meaſure, made their faults paſs uncenſured. We ought to know what is worthy our imitation, and what we ought to ſhun; and this is properly what ought to be the fruit of a careful ſtudy of the belles lettres. This is the conduct Horace purſued when he examined Lucius like a true critic. Horace, by ſo doing, made himſelf enemies; but even his enemies were improved by the inſtructions he gave them.

This deſire to ſhine, and to ſay what has been already ſaid by others, after a new manner, is the ſource of novelty in expreſſions, as it is of far-fetched thoughts. An author who is incapable of ſhining by a thought, would make himſelf taken notice of by an expreſſion. This is the reaſon why it has been lately attempted to ſubſtitute *amabilités* inſtead of *agrémens*, *négligemment* for *négligence*, *badiner les amours* in place of *badiner avec les amours*. There are an hundred ſuch affected expreſſions. Were we to continue corrupting the language in this manner, that ſpoken by Boſſuet, Racine, Paſcal, Corneille, Boileau, and Fenelon, would ſoon become obſolete. Why reject an expreſſion which is in uſe, to make room for another ſignifying exactly the ſame thing? A new word is pardonable only when it is abſolutely neceſſary, intelligible, and ſonorous; we are under a neceſſity of coining ſuch in phyſics: a new diſcovery, or a new machine, demands a new term. But are there any new diſcoveries made in the human heart? is there any other ſublime than that of Corneille and Boſſuet? are there any other paſſions, beſides thoſe which have been treated by Racine, or excited by Quinault? is there any Goſpel-morality different from that of Bourdaloue?

Thoſe who condemn our language as not being ſufficiently copious, may be ſuppoſed to have met with ſomething like ſterility; but then it is in themſelves: *Rem verba*

verba ſequuntur. When we are full of any idea, when a juſt and warm imagination fully poſſeſſes a thought, it then iſſues from the brain, ready arrayed in proper expreſſions, in the ſame manner as Minerva ſprung fully armed from that of Jupiter. I am ſenſible this ſimile might juſtly ſeem miſplaced, at leaſt in another work; but you will pardon it in a letter. In a word, the concluſion I draw from what has been ſaid is, that we muſt not ſeek after either thoughts, turns, or expreſſions; and that art, in every great work, conſiſts in reaſoning juſtly, but without making uſe of too many arguments; in painting well, but without painting every thing; in moving the paſſions, but without being always endeavouring to ſhake the ſoul. Here is certainly a world of good counſel; but have I always followed the doctrine I preach? Alas! no——

Pauci, quos æquus amavit
Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,
Diis geniti potuere.

FRAGMENT of a LETTER

On a very uſeful Cuſtom which prevails in Holland.

IT is to be wiſhed that thoſe who govern nations would imitate artiſts. As ſoon as it is known in London that a new ſtuff is made in France, they are ſure to counterfeit it: Why is not a ſtateſman equally deſirous to eſtabliſh in his own country a ſalutary law taken from a foreign nation? we have arrived, at length, at the ſecret of making china-ware of an equal goodneſs to that made in China. Let us learn the ſecret of imitating the good we obſerve practiſed among our neighbours, and let our neighbours profit by what they ſee excellent among us.

There are private perſons who raiſe in their gardens the fruits which nature had appointed only to ripen under the line. We have a thouſand wiſe laws, and a thouſand excellent cuſtoms at our very doors; theſe are

the fruits we ought to raiſe in our country; theſe are the trees we ought to tranſplant; they will thrive in every climate, and will proſper in every ſoil. The moſt ſalutary law, the moſt excellent cuſtom, and the moſt uſeful I have ever ſeen is in Holland. When two perſons are about to enter upon a law-ſuit, they are firſt obliged to go before a tribunal of reconciling judges, called the Peace-makers. If the parties happen to bring with them a lawyer and a counſellor, the firſt thing done is to ſend thoſe gentlemen about their buſineſs, as we take off the wood from a fire we want to extinguiſh. The Peace-makers tell the parties, "You are certainly great fools to ſpend your money to procure your own ruin; we will bring you to an accommodation without coſting you one farthing." If the rage of chicane happens to be too violent in our parties, they put them off to another day, in order that time may ſoften and mitigate the ſymptoms of their diſorder; after the expiration of which time the judges ſummon them before them a ſecond and a third time. If their folly is of the incurable ſort, they promiſe them they will conſent to their having their cauſe tried in a court of juſtice, in the ſame manner as we abandon an incurable member to the ſurgeon; and then the law has its courſe.

There is no neceſſity to make long declamations, or to calculate how much it would be for the advantage of humanity, were this law univerſally adopted. And beſides, I am by no means deſirous to follow the traces of the abbe de St. Pierre, whoſe projects a certain miniſter, and a man of ſenſe, called *The dreams of a worthy man*. I know that if a private perſon of integrity and good ſenſe, offers a propoſal for the public good, it too often happens that he is abuſed or laughed at for his pains. "What meddling fellow is this," ſome will ſay, "who pretends to make us happier than we chooſe to be? and goes about to reform abuſes by which ſo many people get their living?"—What reply can be made to this? for my part I know of none.

A LETTER

A LETTER ON THE Inconveniences attached to the Profeſſion of LETTERS*.

YOUR vocation, my dear le Fevre, is too plainly marked out by nature to be able to reſiſt it. The bee muſt needs make honey, the ſilk-worm ſpin, Mr. Réaumur muſt diſſect them, and you ſing their labours. You will be a poet and a man of letters, not ſo much by your own choice as by that of nature. But you are much deceived in thinking that tranquillity will be your lot. The road of literature, and, above all, of genius, is yet more thorny than that of fortune. If you have the misfortune to be only an indifferent poet, which I am far from believing, here is nothing before you but repentance whilſt you live. If you ſucceed, you are then ſure to be ſurrounded with enemies; in a word, you walk on the brink of a precipice, with contempt on one hand, and hatred on the other.

"But what," you will tell me, "can it be poſſible I ſhould be hated and perſecuted merely for having written a good poem, a play that has had a run, or compiled a hiſtory with approbation, or for having ſought to improve my own mind, or to contribute to the inſtruction of others?" But, admitting you have compoſed an excellent work, are you aware that you muſt abandon the repoſe of your ſtudy, in order to make your appli-

* This letter ſeems to have been written in 1732, as the author had, about that time, taken into his houſe the young man called Mr. le Fevre, to whom it is addreſſed. He is ſaid to have been of a very promiſing genius, very learned, and to have written ſome extreme pretty verſes. He died the ſame year.

cation to the licenſer? If his way of thinking happens to differ from yours, if he chances not to be your friend's friend, if he is in the intereſt of your rival, or if he is your rival himſelf, it will be more difficult for you to obtain a privilege, than for a man who has not the protection of the women to get a place at court. At length, after a year ſpent in applications and refuſals, your work is printed; then it is you are obliged either to lay the Cerberus's of literature aſleep, or engage them to bark in your favour. There are always three or four literary gazettes in France, as many in Holland; theſe are ſo many different factions. The bookſellers, whoſe property theſe journals are, have an intereſt in their being ſatirical; and thoſe who write in them are eaſily brought to humour the avarice of the bookſeller, and the ill nature of the public. Are you deſirous to ſet theſe trumpets of fame ſounding, do you pay your court to writers, patrons, abbès, doctors, and hawkers; all your cares will not avail, but ſome journaliſt or other will mangle your reputation. You anſwer him; he replies; you have a paper-war carried on before the public, who condemns both parties alike to ridicule.

The matter is ſtill worſe if you happen to write for the ſtage; you begin with appearing before the areopagus of a ſcore of pleaders, a body whoſe profeſſion, though both uſeful and diverting, is, notwithſtanding, ſullied by the unjuſt but irrevocable cruelty of the public. This unhappy ſtate of contempt in which they are, irritates them. In you they behold a client, and laviſh on you all that contempt with which they themſelves are covered. You await your doom from them; they ſit in judgment on your merits; and, at length, undertake to perform your piece. One fooliſh wit in the pit is enough to damn all your hopes. Does it ſucceed? That farce, called the Italian Comedy, that of the Foire, will parody you; and a ſwarm of libels are publiſhed to prove to you, that you ſhould not in juſtice have met with any ſucceſs. Some of the pretenders to learning, who neither underſtand Greek, nor read what is publiſhed in French, deſpiſe, or, at leaſt, affect to deſpiſe you.

You

You carry your book to ſome lady of the court, and, as you go, tremble for fear ſhe ſhould give it to her woman, who will make papers for her hair of it; and the lacquey, all bedaubed with lace, who is keeper of the book of luxury, inſults your dreſs, which is the livery of indigence.

In ſhort, I will ſuppoſe that the fame of your works may have forced envy herſelf ſometimes to acknowledge you are not without your ſhare of merit. This is the utmoſt you can expect whilſt living; but you will pay dearly for this condeſcenſion, and have nothing to look for but perpetual perſecution. You will have libels imputed to you, which you have never ſo much as read; verſes for which you entertain the moſt ſovereign contempt; and ſentiments to which you are an utter ſtranger: you will be compelled to eſpouſe a party, or elſe have all parties unite in a body againſt you.

There are in Paris a number of thoſe little ſocieties, in which ſome woman preſides, who in the decline of her beauty begins to exhibit the firſt dawning of her wit. One or two of the men of letters are the firſt members of this little kingdom. Should you neglect getting yourſelf admitted in quality of a courtier, you are ſure of being held as a declared enemy, and are accordingly allowed no quarter. In the mean while, in ſpite of all your merit, you grow old in the midſt of ſlander and wretchedneſs; thoſe places which are deſtined for men of letters, are given to thoſe who can beſt cabal, and not to thoſe who are only recommended by their talents: and ſome pedagogue, by means of his pupil's mother, ſhall obtain a place to which you dare not ſo much as lift up your eyes; and the paraſite of ſome courtier carry an employ from you for which you are extremely well qualified.

Should chance lead you into one of thoſe companies, in which ſome one of the authors who have been damned by the public happens to be, or one of thoſe half-learned, who have not even merit ſufficient to be ranked among the middling authors, but who has a place, or who may have thruſt himſelf into ſome public office; you will ſoon perceive by the ſuperiority which he af-

fects to have over you, that you are in the very loweſt claſs of mankind.

After forty years labour, you reſolve to ſeek, by means of intriguing, after what is never given to merit alone, and you make intereſt, as others do, to be admitted into the French academy, and to be allowed to pronounce with a heſitating voice, at your reception, a compliment, which next day will be forgotten for ever. This French academy is the ſecret object of the vows of every man of letters; it is a miſtreſs againſt whom they are perpetually making ſongs and epigrams, till they have obtained her favours, and whom they neglect the next moment after fruition.

It is no wonder they ſhould be deſirous of being admitted into a ſociety in which there are always ſome perſons of merit, and from whom they expect, though with little reaſon, to find protection. But you may perhaps aſk me, why people ſay all the ill-natured things in their power againſt this body, till ſuch time as they become members of it? and why the public, which ſhews ſufficient reſpect to the Academy of Sciences, uſes ſo little ceremony with the French Academy? The reaſon is, that the works of the French Academy are expoſed to the view of the public, whereas thoſe of the other are covered with a veil. Every Frenchman thinks he knows the language, and piques himſelf on his taſte; but they rarely value themſelves on being thought natural philoſophers. The mathematics will always be a kind of myſtery to the bulk of the nation, and conſequently will always be an object of veneration. Algebraic equations afford no matter either for an epigram, for a ſong, or for envy; but people judge with the utmoſt ſeverity thoſe enormous collections of indifferent verſes, harangues, and panegyrics, which are ſometimes as falſe as the eloquence with which they are accompanied. We are ſorry to ſee the device of *Immortality* at the head of ſo many declamations, which promiſe nothing that is likely to laſt for ever, but that oblivion to which they are condemned.

It is moſt certain that the French Academy might ſerve to fix the taſte of the nation, as will appear by reading

reading their remarks on the Cid; the jealouſy of cardinal Richlieu has, at leaſt, had this good effect. A few works in this kind would be of very great ſervice. We have looked for ſuch theſe hundred years from the only body from whom they can proceed with any decorum or advantage. Complaints have been made that half the academicians conſiſt of noblemen who never aſſiſt at their meetings, and that, among the remaining half, there are hardly to be found above nine or ten who give conſtant attendance. The academy is often neglected by its own members; and yet no ſooner does one of the forty die, but new candidates appear; a vacant biſhopric could not occaſion more caballing; they ride poſt to Verſailles; all the women are ſet to work as well as all the buſtling people; every ſpring is put in motion; and often the only fruit of theſe negotiations is the making of enemies; the chief cauſe of thoſe horrible couplets which have for ever undone the celebrated but unfortunate Rouſſeau, were owing to his failing of the place which he ſolicited in the Academy. Are you ſo fortunate as to carry the preference over all your rivals, your felicity preſently dwindles to a mere phantom; do you meet with a diſappointment, your affliction is then real. One might write theſe verſes on the tomb of moſt men of letters:

Ci gît au bord de l'Hippocrène,
Un mortel longtems abusé.
Pour vivre pauvre & méprisé,
Il ſe donna bien de la peine.

Here lies, by the Caſtalian brook,
A victim to the love of fame,
A world of pains this poet took
To live in poverty and ſhame.

What then is the drift of this long ſermon I have been making? Can it be to deter you from the purſuit of the road of literature? I will not ſo much oppoſe the courſe of deſtiny; all I mean by this is only to exhort you to patience.

A FRAGMENT

A FRAGMENT ON THE Cauſes of the Corruption of STILE.

IT is a general complaint that eloquence is corrupted, though we have models in almoſt all the kinds. One of the grand defects of the preſent age, and which has moſt contributed to this decline, is the mixture of ſtiles. It would ſeem we authors do not enough imitate the painters, who make it a conſtant rule never to join the attitudes of Calot to the figures of Raphael. I have ſeen ſome hiſtories, in other reſpects well enough written, and even good dogmatical pieces, compoſed in the ſtile of the moſt familiar converſation. Some one has formerly ſaid, we ought to write as we ſpeak; the meaning of which is certainly this, that we ought to write naturally. Irregularity, licentiouſneſs, incorrectneſs, and even a hazarded ſtroke of wit, may be tolerated in a letter; becauſe a letter, which is ſuppoſed to be written without ſtudy or deſign, is of courſe an eaſy and careleſs compoſition; but when we ſpeak or write with an idea of reſpect, we are then obliged to confine ourſelves within the limits of decorum. Now, I aſk, whether there is any thing more deſerving of reſpect than the public?

Is it allowable to ſay, in a mathematical work, "that a geometrican, who would make ſure of his ſalvation, ought to mount up to Heaven in a perpendicular line; that evaneſcent quantities fall to the ground from their ambition of aſcending too high; that a ſeed that has been ſown with the wrong end in the ground is ſenſible of the trick that has been played it, and therefore riſes again in an upright poſture; that were Saturn to periſh, it would be his fifth and not his firſt ſatellite that would fill his place, becauſe kings always keep their immediate heirs at a diſtance; that there is no vacuum in nature

ture but in the pocket of a bankrupt; that Hercules was a natural philoſopher, and that to reſiſt a philoſopher of his ſtrength was a thing impoſſible?"

There are very excellent books infected with this blemiſh; the ſource of this, ſo common a fault, proceeds, in my opinion, from that reproach of pedantry that has long been made to authors, and with abundance of juſtice: *In vitium ducit culpæ fuga.* It has been ſo often rung in people's ears, that they ought to write in the language of the beſt company, that the graveſt authors are grown witty; and, in order to paſs with their readers for one accuſtomed to ſee good company, they ſay things worthy of the very worſt ſort of company.

They have attempted to treat of the ſciences, in the ſame tone as Voiture talked to mademoiſelle Paulet about gallantry, without reflecting that Voiture himſelf has not hit the true taſte of this light way of writing, in which he was thought to have excelled; for he often miſtook the falſe for the delicate, as he did the affected ſtile for the natural. Pleaſantry is never good in the ſerious, becauſe it glances only on that ſide of objects on which it is never viewed by the public; it turns almoſt perpetually on falſe relations, or on equivocal meanings; from whence it comes that thoſe who ſet up for profeſſed wits have commonly judgments equally falſe and ſuperficial.

I ſhould think we ought as little to mix ſtiles in poetry as in proſe. That ſtile which is called Marotic has lately corrupted our poetry a little, by that extravagant mingle of expreſſions, at the ſame time creeping and noble, obſolete and modern; we ſometimes, in pieces of morality, hear the ſqueaking of Rabelai's whiſtle blended with the ſoftneſs of Horace's flute.

Il faut parler Français: Boileau n'eut qu'un langage:
Son eſprit était juſte, & ſon ſtile était ſage.
Sers-toi de ſes leçons; laiſſe aux eſprits mal-faits
L'art de moraliſer du ton de Rabelais.

We

We ſhould ſpeak plain ſenſe: Boileau had but one language. His wit was juſt, his ſtile grave and decent; obſerve his rules, and leave to left handed wits the unenvied art of moralizing in the groſs ſtile of Rabelais.

I confeſs I was ſhocked to meet with the following expreſſions in a ſerious epiſtle.

Des rimeurs diſloqués, à qui le cerveau tinte,
Plus amers qu'aloës, & jus de coloquinte,
Vices portant méchef. Gens de tel acabit,
Chifoniers, Oſtrogots, marouſles que Dieu fit.
De tous ces termes bas l'entaſſement facile
Déſhonore à la fois le génie & le ſtile.

To a certain UPPER CLERK.

June 20, 1733.

SIR,

SINCE you are in a ſituation which enables you to do ſome ſervice to the belles lettres, let me entreat you not to clip ſo cloſe the wings of our writers, nor reduce to the condition of barn-door fowls thoſe who, by uſing their beſt efforts, might one day become eagles; a decent freedom elevates the mind, whilſt a ſtate of ſlavery renders it degenerate and abject. Had there been a literary inquiſition at Rome, we had neither had a Horace, nor a Juvenal, nor even the philoſophical works of Cicero. Had Milton, Dryden, Pope, and Locke, not been free, England had been without either poets or philoſophers; there is a certain Turkiſh deſpotiſm in proſcribing the preſs; and to confine it too much is equal to a prohibition. Be ſatisfied with laying defamatory libels under the ſevereſt reſtraint, becauſe ſuch productions as theſe are real crimes. But whilſt men openly publiſh ſuch monſtrous collections of the moſt infamous ribaldry, and ſo many other pieces, equally deſerving our horror and contempt; permit Bayle, at leaſt,

leaſt, to make his appearance in France, and let not the works of a perſon, who has done ſo much honour to our country, be rated as contraband

You may perhaps tell me, that the magiſtrates who manage the literary cuſtom-houſe complain that there are too many books. This is much the ſame as if the provoſt of the merchants at Paris ſhould ſay there were too many commodities at market. Let him buy that wants. An immenſe library is like the city of Paris, which contains very near eight hundred thouſand ſouls: now, you do not aſſociate with this prodigious multitude; you chooſe out ſome ſelect company, agreeable to your taſte and inclinations, and you change it, whenever you grow tired of it. Books are uſed in much the ſame manner: we chooſe out ſome, by way of friends, from the multitude. There will ſtill be ſeven or eight hundred thouſand books of controverſy, and from fifteen to ſixteen thouſand romances, which you will never read, with a world of looſe periodical papers, which you may read once, and then throw into the fire. A man of taſte only reads the excellent authors; but a good ſtateſman will tolerate both kinds.

The thoughts of men are become an important object in commerce. The bookſellers in Holland gain a million yearly, becauſe Frenchmen formerly had wit. A middling romance is, I am perfectly well aſſured, among books, what a fool, that would be thought a man of imagination, is in the world: people laugh at him, but yet they put up with him. This romance gives bread to the author who has compoſed it, to the bookſeller who vends it, together with the type-founder, printer, bookbinder, hawker, and, laſtly, the retailer of execrable wine, with whom all thoſe gentlemen lay out their money. This work will moreover ſerve for two or three hours amuſement to a few women, with whom novelty is the moſt eſſential quality in books, as it is in every thing elſe. Thus, contemptible as it is, it has produced two things of vaſt importance, profit and pleaſure.

Shews, moreover, merit ſtill greater attention. I do not conſider them as an employment which takes young people from debauchery; this notion is fit for ſuch an

one

one as an ignorant curate. There is time enough, both before and after ſhews, to enjoy the few moments which are commonly beſtowed on tranſitory pleaſures, immediately followed by diſguſt: beſides, men do not go to ſhews every day; and among the vaſt multitude of citizens, there are not four thouſand perſons who attend them conſtantly.

I conſider tragedy and comedy as ſo many ſchools of virtue, reaſon, and decorum. Corneille, who may really be called an ancient Roman living in France, has founded a ſchool wherein noble ſentiments are taught; and Moliere an academy, wherein are explained the duties of civil life. Thoſe geniuſes which they have formed, draw ſtrangers from the remoteſt parts of Europe, who come to receive inſtructions amongſt us, and who contribute to the opulence of Paris. Our poor are fed by the produce of theſe works, which have gained us an empire over thoſe very nations who have a natural hatred to us. The whole being well conſidered, a man muſt be an enemy to his country to condemn our ſhews. A magiſtrate, in right of having bought at a high price the office of a judge, has the audaciouſneſs to think, that it is indecent in him to go to ſee Cinna: ſuch a perſon may have a great deal of gravity, but ſurely is poſſeſſed of a very ſmall ſhare of taſte.

There will always be, in this polite nation of ours, minds which naturally have a tincture of the Goth and Vandal; but I can only acknowledge thoſe who love and encourage the arts as true Frenchmen. This taſte, it is true, begins to ſink amongſt us; we are, like the Sibarites, weary of the favours of our miſtreſſes; we enjoy the vigils of theſe great men, whoſe labours ſerve for our amuſement, as well as for that of ages yet unborn, juſt as we receive the productions of nature. They will tell us they are due to us; it is but an hundred years ſince we fed on acorns; yet thoſe Triptolomuſes, who have given us the fineſt wheat, are become indifferent to us; nothing awakens this ſpirit of indolence and indifference for great objects, which is an inſeparable companion of our vivacity and eagerneſs for trifles.

We

We diſcover every year more induſtry and invention in our ſnuff-boxes, our tweezer-caſes, and ſuch trinkets, than the Engliſh have made uſe of to obtain the empire of the ſeas, to cauſe water to aſcend by means of fire, and to calculate the aberration of light. The ancient Romans raiſed wonders in architecture for their ſpectacles of wild beaſts; yet have we not for an age paſt been able to build a tolerable room to repreſent the maſter-pieces of the human mind. The hundredth part of our card-money would be ſufficient to build places for our ſhows more pompous than the theatre of Pompey. But where is the man in Paris who is fired with the ſmalleſt ſpark of love for his country? We game, ſup, and like ſcandal, compoſe wretched ſongs, and fall aſleep in the hands of ſtupidity, in order to awake next day to renew the ſame circle of levity and indifference. You, ſir, who hold at leaſt a ſmall place, which gives you an opportunity of giving wholeſome counſel, do you endeavour to rouze men from this barbarous lethargy, and be a benefactor, if you can, to the commonwealth of letters, who have been ſo great benefactors to France.

DIALOGUE

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN A CLIENT AND HIS LAWYER.

CLIENT.

WELL, ſir! with regard to the cauſe of theſe poor orphans!

LAWYER.

What do you mean? It is but eighteen years ſince their eſtate has been in litigation.

CLIENT.

I don't complain of that trifling matter; I know the cuſtom well enough; I reſpect it: but how, in the name of Heaven, comes it to paſs, that you have been theſe three months ſoliciting a hearing, and have not yet obtained it?

LAWYER.

The reaſon is, becauſe you have not ſolicited an audience in perſon in behalf of your pupils. You ought to have waited on the judge ſeveral different times, to intreat him to try your cauſe.

CLIENT.

It is their duty to do juſtice of their own accord, without waiting till it is aſked them. He is a very great man that has it in his power to ſit in judgment on men's lives and fortunes; but he is by no means ſo to deſire that the miſerable ſhould wait in his anti-chamber. I do not go to our parſon's levee to pray, and beſeech him to have the goodneſs to ſing high maſs. Why ought I then to petition my judge to diſcharge the function of his office? In ſhort, after ſo many and ſuch tedious delays, are we at length going to be ſo happy as to have our cauſe tried to-day?

LAWYER.

LAWYER.

Why, yes; and there is a great likelihood of your carrying a very material point in your proceſs. You have a very deciſive article in *Charondas* on your ſide.

CLIENT.

This ſame *Charondas* was, in all probability, ſome lord-chancellor in the time of one of the kings of the firſt race, who has paſſed a law in favour of orphans.

LAWYER.

By no means: he is no more than a private perſon, who has given his opinion in a great volume, which nobody reads; but then your advocate quotes him, the judges take it upon his credit; ſo there's your cauſe gained in a trice.

CLIENT.

What! do you tell me the opinion of this judge Charondas paſſes current for a law?

LAWYER.

But there is one deviliſh bad circumſtance attends us. Turnet and Brodeau are both againſt us.

CLIENT.

Theſe, I ſuppoſe, are two other legiſlators, whoſe laws have much the ſame authority with thoſe of that other hard-named gentleman.

LAWYER.

Yes, certainly; as it was impoſſible to explain the Roman law ſufficiently in the preſent caſe, the world took different ſides of the queſtion.

CLIENT.

What the devil ſignifies it to bring in the Roman law in this affair. Do we live, in the preſent age, under Theodoſius or Juſtinian?

LAWYER.

By no means; but our forefathers, you muſt know, had a prodigious paſſion for tilting and fox-hunting: they ran all, as if they were mad, to the Holy Land with their doxies. You will grant me, that men, in ſuch a hurry of buſineſs of conſequence, could not be ſuppoſed to have time on their hands to frame a complete body of univerſal juriſprudence.

CLIENT.

CLIENT.

Aye, aye; I underſtand you. For want of laws of your own, you are forced to beg of Charondas and Juſtinian, to be ſo good as tell you how you ſhould proceed when an inheritance is to be divided.

LAWYER.

There you are miſtaken: we have more laws than all Europe beſides; almoſt every city has a body of laws of its own.

CLIENT.

Your moſt obedient. Here's another miracle.

LAWYER.

Ah! had your wards been born at Guignes-la-Putain, inſtead of being natives of Melun near Corbeil!

CLIENT.

Very well; what had happened then, for God's ſake?

LAWYER.

You would have gained your cauſe, as ſure as two and two make four; that's all: for at this ſame Guignes-la-Putain there is a cuſtom which is wholly in your favour; but were you to go but two leagues beyond this, you would then be in a very different ſituation.

CLIENT.

But pray are not Guignes and Melun both in France? And can any thing be more abſurd or horrible, than to tell me, that what's right in one village is wrong in another? By what fatal barbarity does it happen, that people, born in the ſame country, do yet live under different laws?

LAWYER.

The reaſon is, that formerly the inhabitants of Guignes and thoſe of Melun were not inhabitants of the ſame country: theſe two fine cities formed, in the golden days of yore, two diſtinct empires; and the auguſt ſovereign of Guignes, though a vaſſal to the king of France, gave laws to his own ſubjects. Thoſe laws depended on the good-will and pleaſure of his *major-domo*, who, it ſeems, could not read; ſo that they have been handed down, by a moſt venerable tradition, from father to ſon; ſo that the whole race of the barons de Guignes becoming

becoming extinct, to the irrecoverable loſs of all mankind, the conceits of their firſt lacqueys ſtill ſubſiſt, and are held for the fundamental law of the land. The caſe is exactly the ſame in every ſix leagues in the whole kingdom; ſo that you change laws every time you change horſes: ſo you may judge what a taking we poor advocates are in, when we are to plead, for inſtance, for an inhabitant of Poictou againſt an inhabitant of Auvergne.

CLIENT.

But theſe ſame men of Poictou, Auvergne, with your Guignes gentry, are they not all dreſſed in the ſame manner? Is it a harder matter to uſe the ſame laws than it is to wear the ſame cloaths? And ſince it is evident the taylors and coblers underſtand one another from one end of the kingdom to the other, why cannot the judges learn of them, and follow ſo excellent an example?

LAWYER.

You deſire a thing altogether as impoſſible as it would be to bring the nation to make uſe of one ſort of weights and meaſures. Why would you have the laws every-where the ſame, when you ſee the point is different in all places? For my own part, after thinking till my head was like to ſplit, all I have been able to conclude, for the ſoul of me, is this: That as the meaſure of Paris is different from that at St. Denis, it follows, that men's judgments muſt alſo be different in both. The varieties of nature are infinite; and it would be wrong in us to endeavour to render uniform what ſhe intends ſhall not be ſo.

CLIENT.

Yet, now I think on it, I have a ſtrong notion the Engliſh have but one ſort of weights and meaſures.

LAWYER.

The Engliſh! ay. Why the Engliſh are mere barbarians: they have, it is true, but one kind of meaſure; but, to make amends, they have a ſcore of different religions.

CLIENT.

CLIENT.

There you mention ſomething ſtrange indeed! Is it poſſible that a nation, who live under the ſame laws, ſhould not likewiſe live under the ſame religion?

LAWYER.

It is; which makes it plain they are abandoned to their own reprobate underſtandings.

CLIENT.

But may it not alſo prove, that they think laws made for regulating the external actions of men, and religion the internal? Poſſibly the Engliſh, and other nations, were of opinion, that laws related to the concernments of man with man, and that religion regarded man's relation to God. I am ſure, I ſhould never quarrel with an Anabaptiſt, who ſhould take it into his head to be chriſtened at thirty years old; but I ſhould be horridly offended with him, ſhould he fail paying his bill of exchange. They who ſin againſt God, ought to be puniſhed in the other world; they who ſin againſt man, ought to be chaſtiſed in this.

LAWYER.

I underſtand nothing of all this. I am juſt going to plead your cauſe.

CLIENT.

I wiſh to God you underſtood it better firſt.

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

MADAM DE MAINTENON

AND

MADEMOISELLE DE L'ENCLOS*.

Madam MAINTENON.

'TIS true, I did requeſt you to come to ſee me privately: perhaps you may think it was only to make a diſplay of my grandeur. By no means; I really meant it that I might receive in you a real conſolation———

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

Conſolation, madam! I muſt acknowledge, that, having never been favoured with hearing of you ſince you were grown great, I concluded you muſt be perfectly happy.

Madam MAINTENON.

I have the good fortune to be thought ſo. There are people in the world who are ſatisfied with this; though, to be plain with you, it is not at all my caſe. I have always exceedingly regretted your company.

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

I underſtand you. In the midſt of your grandeur you were ſenſible of the want of friendſhip; and I, on the other hand, who am entirely engroſſed by friendſhip, never

* Madam de Maintenon and Mademoiſelle Ninon de l'Enclos had lived long together. This celebrated young lady, who died in her eighty-eighth year, had ſeen our author, and had even left him a legacy by her will. The author has often heard the late abbe de Chateauneuf ſay, that Madam de Maintenon had uſed her utmoſt endeavours to engage Ninon to turn nun, and to come and comfort her at Verſailles under the irkſome load of grandeur and old age.

never had occaſion to wiſh for grandeur. But how then comes it to paſs you forgot me ſo long?

Madam MAINTENON.

You know the neceſſity I was under to ſeem at leaſt to forget you. Believe me, amidſt all the misfortunes attached to my elevation, I always reckoned this reſtraint the chief.

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

As for my part, I neither forget my former pleaſures, nor my old friends; but if you are really unhappy, as you ſay you are, you impoſe prodigiouſly on the whole world, who believe you otherwiſe.

Madam MAINTENON.

I was the firſt perſon deceived in this manner myſelf. If, whilſt we were at ſupper together, in company with Villarſaux and Nantouiller, at our little houſe the Tournelles, when the mediocrity of our fortune was ſcarce worth thinking of, ſomebody had ſaid, You will, before 'tis long, approach very near to the throne; the moſt powerful monarch in the world will ſoon make you his ſole confidant; all favours will paſs through your hands; you will be regarded as a ſovereign. If, ſaid I, any one had made me ſuch predictions, I ſhould have anſwered, The accompliſhment of this ſtrange prognoſtication muſt certainly kill one with mere aſtoniſhment. The whole of it was actually accompliſhed. I felt ſome ſurprize in the firſt moments; but, in hoping for joy, I found myſelf intirely miſtaken.

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

A philoſopher might poſſibly believe this; but the public will with great difficulty be brought to believe you were diſſatisfied; and ſhould they really think ſo, they would certainly blame you for it.

Madam MAINTENON.

The world muſt then be as much in the wrong as I was. This world of ours is a vaſt amphitheatre, where every one is placed on his bench by mere chance. They imagine the ſupreme degree of felicity to be on the uppermoſt benches. What an egregious miſtake!

Mademoiſelle

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

I take this miſtake to be neceſſary to human nature: they would never give themſelves any trouble about getting higher, were they not led by an opinion, that happineſs is placed above them. Both of us are acquainted with pleaſures infinitely leſs deceiving or fanciful: but, for Heaven's ſake, how did you contrive to be ſo exceeding wretched on your exalted ſeat?

Madam MAINTENON.

Alas! my dear Ninon! from the time I left off calling you any thing but Mademoiſelle de l'Enclos, I from that moment began to be leſs happy. It was decreed I muſt be a prude. This is telling all in one word. My heart is empty, my mind under reſtraint; I make the firſt figure in France; but it is really no more than a figure, a ſhadow! I live only a kind of borrowed life. Ah! did you but know what a burden it muſt be to a drooping ſoul to animate another ſoul, or to amuſe a mind no longer capable of amuſement! *

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

I eaſily gueſs the uneaſineſs of your ſituation. I fear inſulting you, ſhould I mention the reflection, that Ninon is happier at Paris, in her little houſe, with the abbé de Chateauneuf, and ſome friends, than you at Verſailles, in the company of the moſt reſpectable perſonage in all Europe, who lays all his power at your feet. I am afraid to ſhew you the ſuperiority of my ſituation. I know it is wrong to diſcover too ſenſible a reliſh of our felicity in the preſence of the unhappy. Endeavour, madam, to bear the load of your grandeur with patience; try to forget that delightful obſcurity in which we formerly lived together, in the ſame manner you have been obliged to forget your ancient friends. The ſole remedy, in your painful ſtate, is to avoid reflection as much as poſſible, crying out with the poet,

Félicité paſſée,
Qui ne peut revenir
Tourment de ma penſée,
Que n'ai-je en te perdant, perdu le ſouvenir!

* Theſe are Madam Maintenon's own words, *Amuſer un eſprit qui n'eſt plus amuſable!*

Tormenting thought of former happineſs, gone, never to return! Why, when I was bereft of the joy, did I not loſe the remembrance of it alſo!

Drink of the river Lethe, and above all comfort yourſelf with having before your eyes ſo many royal dames, whoſe time lies as heavy upon their hands as yours can do.

Madam MAINTENON.

Ah, my dear! what felicity can one find in being alone? I would fain make a propoſal to you, but I am afraid to open myſelf.

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

Indeed, madam, to be plain with you, you have reaſon to be a little miſtruſtful; but take courage.

Madam MAINTENON.

I mean that you will barter, at leaſt in appearance, your philoſophy for prudery, and then you will become a truly reſpectable woman. You ſhall live with me at Verſailles, you ſhall be more my friend than ever, and help me to ſupport my preſent condition.

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

I ſtill have a great affection for you, madam, but I muſt freely own to you, I love myſelf ſtill better; and can never conſent to turn hypocrite, and render myſelf miſerable for ever, becauſe fortune has treated you ſcurvily.

Madam MAINTENON.

Ah, cruel Ninon! you have a heart more hard than even the very courtiers themſelves. Can you then abandon me without the leaſt remorſe?

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

By no means: I am ſtill but too ſenſible. You really melt me; and, to convince you I have the ſame regard for you as ever, I now make you the laſt offer in my power; quit Verſailles, and come and live with me at the rües des Tournelles.

Madam MAINTENON.

You pierce my very heart. I cannot be happy near the throne, nor can I enjoy pleaſure in a retired life. This is one of the fatal effects of living in a court.

Mademoiſelle

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

There is no remedy for an incurable diſorder. I ſhall take the opinion of the philoſophers who frequent my houſe concerning your malady; but I cannot promiſe you they will effect impoſſibilities.

Madam MAINTENON.

Good heavens! what a cruel ſituation! to behold myſelf on the very pinnacle of greatneſs, to be worſhipped as a deity, and yet not to be able to taſte of happineſs!

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

Hold, my dear friend, I fancy there is ſome miſtake in this; you believe yourſelf unhappy merely on account of your greatneſs: but may not the misfortune proceed from another cauſe, that your eyes have no longer the ſame luſtre, your appetite no longer ſo good, nor your reliſh for pleaſures ſo lively as heretofore? You have loſt your youth, beauty, and feelings; this, this is your real misfortune. This is the reaſon why ſo many women turn devotees at fifty, and ſo fly from one chagrin into the arms of another.

Madam MAINTENON.

But, after all, you have more years over your head than I have, and you are neither unhappy nor a devotee.

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

Let us underſtand each other. We ought not to imagine that at your age and mine we can enjoy complete happineſs. It requires a ſoul glowing with the moſt exquiſite ſenſations, and the five ſenſes in their higheſt perfection, to taſte this kind of felicity. But with a few friends, a little philoſophy, and liberty, one may be as much at one's eaſe, as this age will admit of. The mind is never unhappy but when out of its ſphere. So e'en take my advice, and come and live with me, and my philoſophical friends.

Madam MAINTENON.

I ſee two miniſters of ſtate coming this way. They are very different company from philoſophers; ſo fare you well, my dear Ninon.

Mademoiſelle de l'ENCLOS.

Adieu, illuſtrious unfortunate.

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

A PHILOSOPHER,

AND A

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE FINANCES.

PHILOSOPHER.

DO you know, that a miniſter of the finances is capable of doing a great deal of good, and conſequently of being a much greater man than a marſhal of France?

MINISTER.

I would readily believe, that a philoſopher would endeavour to ſoften the accuſation of hard heartedneſs, with which the public generally load thoſe in my office; but I could never have believed that he would have endeavoured to inſpire me with vanity.

PHILOSOPHER.

Vanity is far from being ſuch a vice as you may ſuppoſe it. Had not Lewis XIV. had a tincture of it, his reign would never have been ſo illuſtrious as it was. The great Colbert was not without his ſhare of it; be it yours to ſurpaſs him. You are born in an age more favourable to this paſſion than his; and it is the buſineſs of every one to raiſe his views according to the times he lives in.

MINISTER.

I will allow, that thoſe who cultivate a fruitful ſoil have greatly the advantage over thoſe who firſt broke the land.

PHILO-

PHILOSOPHER.

Be perſuaded that there is nothing ſo uſeful but you may eaſily accompliſh. When Colbert came to the adminiſtration, he found, on one hand, the finances in all that diſorder, which muſt have been the inevitable conſequences of a civil war, and thirty years of rapine and licentiouſneſs. On the other, he found the nation fickle, ignorant, and enſlaved to prejudices of thirteen hundred years ſtanding. There was not a man at the council board who knew what was meant by exchange, or had the leaſt idea of trade, or the proportion between different ſpecies of coin. At preſent our knowledge is improved by mutual communication. The populace indeed ſtill remain in the very depth of ignorance, or employed in the taſk of getting their daily ſubſiſtence; and I will venture to affirm, that it is the buſineſs of the government to keep them in this condition. But the middling rank of people, which is very conſiderable, are become enlightened; they govern the great, who ſometimes think, and the ſmall, who never think at all. The ſame thing has happened in relation to the finances, ſince the time of the famous Colbert, as has happened in muſic ſince that of Lulli. This great maſter could hardly meet with a perſon to play one of his ſymphonies, ſimple as they were. At preſent, the number of artiſts, capable of executing the moſt difficult pieces of muſic, have increaſed in proportion as the art itſelf has improved. It is the ſame with philoſophy, and the miniſterial office. Colbert did greater things than the duke of Sully, and you muſt do greater than Colbert.

At theſe words, the miniſter perceiving that the philoſopher had a bundle of papers in his hand, deſired to ſee them. They contained a collection of hints capable of furniſhing ſome very uſeful reflections. The miniſter took them, and read as follows.

The wealth of a ſtate conſiſts in the number of its inhabitants and their labour.

Commerce ſerves to render one ſtate more powerful than another, in that in a certain number of years it has neceſſarily a war with its neighbours; as in like

manner as in a certain number of years, there is always ſome public calamity. Then, in the calamity of war, the richer nation, *cæteris paribus*, neceſſarily gains an advantage over the others, becauſe it can purchaſe the aſſiſtance of a greater number of allies, and foreign troops. Without the calamity of war, the augmentation of the maſs of gold, and ſilver would be uſeleſs: for provided there was ſufficient of thoſe metals for the purpoſes of circulation, and that the balance of trade was only equal, it is clear we ſhould not be in want of any thing.

Suppoſing there are two milliards * in a nation. Then the price of all commodities and labour would be double of what they would be, if there was only one milliard. I am as rich with a yearly income of 50,000 livres, if I can buy a pound of meat for four ſous, as with an 100,000, if the ſame quantity of meat will coſt me eight ſous, and ſo of the reſt in proportion. The real wealth of a kingdom then conſiſts, not in gold and ſilver, but in the plenty of all kinds of commodities, in induſtry, and in labour. It is not long ſince there was a Spaniſh regiment on the borders of the river la Plata, where the officers had all hilts of maſſy gold to their ſwords, and not a ſhirt to their backs, nor a morſel of bread to put in their mouths.

I will ſuppoſe that, ſince the time of Hugh Capet, the quantity of money in the kingdom has not been increaſed: but that induſtry has been augmented to one in all arts. I maintain then that we are in reality an hundred times richer than we were at the time of Hugh Capet, for enjoyment makes riches. Now, I am poſſeſſed of an houſe, which is more airy, better built, and more completely laid out, than any in the time in which Hugh Capet lived. We have attained to a greater perfection in cultivating the vine, ſo that I drink better wine. The woollen manufactory is greatly improved, ſo that I wear better and finer cloth. The art

* A milliard is two thouſand millions, but by this is meant ſo many millions of French livres, 24 of which go to our Engliſh pound ſterling.

art of flattering the taſte by the moſt delicate cookery, indulges me every day with more delicious fare than is to be met with at any royal banquet of Hugh Capet. If he was ill, and wanted to move from one houſe to another, it muſt be in a kind of cart or waggon; whereas I can roll at my eaſe in a convenient and pleaſant vehicle, where I enjoy all the advantages of light, without being expoſed to the inclemency of the weather. There certainly wanted no greater quantity of money in the kingdom in order to ſuſpend, on leathern braces, a machine of painted wood; it required only induſtry, and this holds equally good in relation to all other things of this nature. The ſame quarries furniſhed ſtones to build houſes with, in the time of Hugh Capet, as they do now, and there requires no more money to build a miſerable dungeon, than to conſtruct a pleaſant and commodious dwelling-houſe. The ſame expence will plant a well contrived garden, which is required to cut ridiculous and groteſque figures, in an abſurd imitation of different animals. Oaks were ſuffered formerly to rot in the foreſts; now they are cut into a variety of forms, that ſerve at once for uſe and ornament. Sand lay formerly in uſeleſs heaps on the ſurface of the earth, now it is applied to the purpoſe of making glaſs.

Now he, who enjoys all theſe advantages, is certainly rich. Induſtry has put us in poſſeſſion of them; therefore it is not money that conſtitutes the riches of a kingdom, but ingenuity, that kind of it I mean that directs us in our labour.

Commerce produces the ſame effects with labour; it contributes to render life more agreeable. If I ſtand in need of any manufacture of the Eaſt Indies, or of a production of nature, which is to be found only at Ceylon or Ternate, I am poor while in want of theſe; but I become rich, when theſe my wants are ſatisfied by the means of commerce: I was not in want of gold or ſilver, but of coffee and cinnamon. But thoſe, who at the hazard of their lives, go upwards of ſix thouſand leagues to ſupply me with coffee for my breakfaſt in a morning, are no more than the ſupernumerary labourers

of the nation. The wealth of a kingdom, then, conſiſts in the great number of labouring people.

Population and labour then are undoubtedly the true objects of attention in every wiſe government.

In our climates, the number of males born is greater than that of females, conſequently we ought not to deſtroy our females. Now it is evident, we do deſtroy them in reſpect to ſociety, by burying them alive in convents, where they are totally loſt to the preſent generation, and extinguiſhed to future. The money ſunk in endowing convents would therefore be much better employed in encouraging matrimony. I cannot but compare the young females, who are ſuffered to wither and decay in our convents to the waſte lands which we have ſtill in France. They both ſtand alike in need of cultivation. There are ſeveral ways of obliging huſbandmen to improve waſte and neglected lands; but there is one infallible way of injuring a ſtate, which is to ſuffer the continuance of two abuſes, namely, that of immuring young women, and leaving the land to be over-run with weeds. Barrenneſs of every kind is either a vice in nature, or a violation of her laws.

The king, who is the nation's ſteward, gives penſions to the court ladies, in which he does right; for this money is circulated amongſt different kinds of tradespeople, but how comes it there are no penſions alloted for the encouragement of agriculture? This money would in like manner return into the kingdom again, and with ſtill greater profit.

The tolerating beggars is an acknowledged defect in a government. There are two ſorts of theſe, ſuch who go on crutches from one end of the kingdom to the other, and, as it were, force money from all paſſers by, by their importunities and lamentable complaints, which they ſpend afterwards in drinking houſes; the other ſort are thoſe, who, clad in a particular dreſs, go from houſe to houſe, and lay the people under a religious contribution, in God's name, and then return, when the buſineſs of the day is over, to indulge themſelves in their own houſes, or at the tables of the great, where they live in eaſe and luxury. The firſt of theſe

is

is leſs pernicious than the other, becauſe they frequently furniſh children to the ſtate, and though ſome of theſe may chance to turn out thieves, yet there are many of them alſo, who, in time, make excellent maſons and ſoldiers. But they are both of them evils, of which every one complains, and yet no one is at the trouble of endeavouring to remove them. It is very ſurpriſing, that in a kingdom, which has ſo many waſte lands and colonies, a ſet of people ſhould be ſuffered, who neither labour, nor contribute to population. Whence comes it, that there have been nations, who, though not poſſeſſed of near the quantity of gold and ſilver that we are, have notwithſtanding immortalized their memory by labours that we dare not imitate? It is plain that their government was better than ours, inaſmuch, as it gave encouragement to a greater number of labouring people.

Taxes are neceſſary. The beſt manner of raiſing them, is that which moſt facilitates labour and commerce. Every arbitrary tax is an error. Nothing but alms can be arbitrary; but, in a well-policied ſtate, there ſhould not be room left for alms-giving. The great Scha Abbas, who made ſo many uſeful eſtabliſhments in Perſia, did not found one hoſpital. Being aſked the reaſon, he replied, "Becauſe I intend there ſhall be no need of hoſpitals in my kingdom."

But what is a tax? It is a certain proportion of corn, cattle, or commodities, that the poſſeſſors of lands owe to thoſe that have none. Money is only the type or repreſentative of thoſe commodities. Taxes then in reality are raiſed upon the rich only, for you cannot demand of a poor man a part of the bread he earns by the ſweat of his brow; nor the milk, with which his wife nouriſhes his children at her breaſt. It is therefore not the poor, nor their labour, that ought to be taxed, but we ſhould, whilſt we find them employment, give them wages that they will one day be happy enough to be able to pay taxes.

In time of war, I ſuppoſe the nation pays fifty millions extraordinary yearly; of theſe fifty millions, twenty are carried out of the kingdom, and the remaining thirty employed in butchering mankind. I will ſup-

poſe that, in time of peace, five and twenty of theſe millions are paid off, and that none of this is carried abroad, and that as many people are employed in labouring for the good of the public, as were knocked on the head in fighting its battles. Works of all kinds are multiplied, the fields are cultivated, and cities embelliſhed; hence the people really grow rich by what they pay to the government. During the calamities of war, taxes are not intended to procure us the conveniencies of life, but to defend us in our poſſeſſions. The happieſt people then are neceſſarily thoſe who pay the moſt; and theſe are inconteſtably ſuch who are the moſt laborious, and the moſt wealthy.

Paper money is with reſpect to ſpecie, what that is to commodities; a repreſentation, a pledge of barter. Money is of no further uſe than as it is more convenient to give a piece of gold or ſilver for a commodity than four or five pair of ſtockings. In like manner, it is more eaſy for the receiver of a province to remit two or three thouſand pounds to the exchequer in a letter, than to ſend it, at a great expence by carriage; this ſhews the utility of banks and paper money. Paper money is in a government, in commerce, and in circulation, what cranes are in a quarry; they ſerve to raiſe weights, which a number of men could not ſtir by the ſtrength of their arms. A Scotchman, who was, at the ſame time, a very uſeful and dangerous perſon in a ſtate, was the firſt who eſtabliſhed paper credit in France; he was like a phyſician, who gives his ſick patient a too powerful emetic, which cauſes violent convulſions and diſorders; but becauſe a good medicine is given in an over doſe, is that a reaſon to reject it altogether? From the ruins of his ſyſtem, we have ſtill remaining an India company, which gives jealouſy to other nations, and may eſtabliſh the greatneſs of our own; therefore this ſyſtem, if confined within proper limits, would have been productive of more good, than it has cauſed evil.

The altering the value of the coin is making counterfeit money. The circulating a greater quantity of paper money, than the ſtock and circulation of ſpecie and

and commodities, can anſwer another way of making falſe money.

The prohibiting the exportation of gold and ſilver is another remnant of barbariſm and indigence; it is at once refuſing to pay one's debts, and deſtroying trade; it is refuſing to pay, becauſe if the nation is debtor ſhe muſt moſt certainly ſettle the balance with her foreign creditor. It is deſtroying trade, becauſe gold and ſilver are not only the price of merchandize, but merchandize themſelves; the Spaniard has, like other nations, preſerved this ancient law, which is only an ancient folly. The whole reſource of a ſtate is the conſtant violation of this law.

To load the commodities of one's own country with the payment of taxes, for going from one province to another; to make Champagne an enemy to Burgundy, and Guienne to Brittany, is another abuſe equally ſhameful and ridiculous. It is the ſame as if I was to poſt ſome of my ſervants on the ſtair-caſe to ſtop and eat part of my dinner, as it comes to my table. Endeavours have been uſed to correct this error; but, to the ſhame of human underſtanding, we have not as yet been able to ſucceed.

There were ſeveral other hints among the philoſopher's papers, which the miniſter greatly approved; and this was the firſt time that the notes of a philoſopher were ever ſeen in the pocket-book of a miniſter of ſtate.

A DIA-

A

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

MARCUS AURELIUS

AND A

RECOLLET FRIAR.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

NOW I think I begin to know whereabouts I am. That's certainly the Capitol, and that Baſilica the temple. The perſon I behold there is undoubtedly the prieſt of Jupiter. Hark ye, friend; one word with you, if you pleaſe.

FRIAR.

Friend! very familiar, truly: you muſt certainly be a ſtranger in Rome, to accoſt in this manner brother Fulgentius the recollet, an inhabitant of the Capitol, confeſſor to the ducheſs de Popoli, and who ſpeaks ſometimes to the pope, with as much familiarity as if he were a mere mortal.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Brother Fulgentius in the Capitol! Matters are ſomewhat changed indeed. I don't underſtand one word you ſay. Is there no ſuch place here as the temple of Jupiter?

FRIAR.

Get you gone about your buſineſs, honeſt friend; you ſeem to be out of your ſenſes. Who are you, prithee, with your antique dreſs and your Jew's beard? Whence come you, and what do you want here?

MARCUS

MARCUS AURELIUS.

This is my ordinary apparel: I am come back to ſee Rome once more. My name is Marcus Aurelius.

FRIAR.

Marcus Aurelius! I think I remember to have heard of ſuch a name. If I don't miſtake, there was a Pagan emperor ſo called.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

I am he. I longed to have another view of that Rome which I loved, and which was ſo fond of me; that Capitol in which I triumphed by my contempt of triumph; that land I formerly rendered ſo happy: but now I can hardly think it to be the ſame place. I have been to ſee the column that was erected to my honour, and have not been able to find the ſtatue of the ſage Antonine, my father. The face is quite altered from what it was.

FRIAR.

So it ought, Mr. Damned Soul. Sixtus the Fifth erected that column; but then he put on it a better man than you and your father to boot.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

I was always of opinion it was no difficult matter to excel me: but I thought it no ſuch eaſy affair to ſurpaſs my father. Perhaps my piety towards him has impoſed upon my judgment. All men are liable to error. But why give me the epithet of Damned Soul?

FRIAR.

Becauſe ſo you are. Was it not you (let me ſee, I don't miſtake) that ſo often perſecuted a ſet of folks, to whom you lay under very great obligations, and who procured you a ſhower of rain which enabled you to thraſh your enemies?

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Alas! I was very far from perſecuting any one. I thank Heaven, by a very happy conjuncture, a ſtorm happened, juſt in the nick of time, to ſave my troops, who were dying of thirſt; but I never heard before, that I owed the favour of this tempeſt to the folks you mention, though, to tell you the truth, they were very good ſoldiers. I aſſure you, in the moſt ſolemn manner,

I am

I am not damned: I have done too much good to mankind, that the Divine Being ſhould do me any evil. But, prithee tell me, where is the palace of the emperor my ſucceſſor? Is it ſtill on the Palatine hill? For really I hardly know my own country again.

FRIAR.

I believe it, truly, we have ſo improved every thing. If you pleaſe, I will carry you to Monte Cavallo: you ſhall have the honour to kiſs the great toe of St. Peter; and you will, beſides, receive a handſome preſent of indulgences, which, in my humble opinion, will be very ſeaſonable; for I don't doubt you ſtand in great need of them.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Firſt of all, I deſire you would grant me your own; and tell me ingenuouſly, is there an end of the emperors and empire of Rome?

FRIAR.

No, no, by no means; there is ſtill an empire and an emperor; but then he keeps his court at the diſtance of about four hundred leagues from hence, at a ſmall city called Vienna, on the Danube. My advice is, that you go there to pay a viſit to your ſucceſſors; becauſe here you ſtand a great chance to viſit the inquiſition. I warn you that the reverend Dominican fathers are not at all diſpoſed to jeſt in ſuch matters, and that your Marcus Aurelius's, your Antonines, your Trajans, and your Titus's, and ſuch gentry as cannot ſay their catechiſm, are treated by them after a very ſcurvy manner.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

The catechiſm! the inquiſition! Dominicans! Recollets! a pope and cardinals! and the Roman empire in a little city on the Danube! I could never have dreamt of ſuch things; tho', I will allow, that in ſixteen hundred years things will change ſtrangely in this world of ours. I could like, methinks, to ſee one of theſe Roman emperors, Marcoman, Quadus, Cimber, and Teuto.

FRIAR.

You ſhall not want that pleaſure when you pleaſe, and a greater than that ſtill. You would, in all likelihood,

hood, be ſurpriſed, were I to tell you that the Scythians hold one half of your empire, and we the other: that the ſovereign of Rome is a prieſt like me: that brother Fulgentius may be that ſovereign in his turn: that I ſhall diſperſe indulgences on the very ſpot where you were wont to be drawn in your car by vanquiſhed ſovereigns: and, laſtly, that your ſucceſſor on the Danube has not a city he can call his own; but that there is a certain prieſt that lets him have the uſe of his capital, when he has occaſion for it.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

You tell me ſtrange news, indeed. All theſe great changes could never have happened without great misfortunes. I own I ſtill love the human race, and am heartily ſorry for them.

FRIAR.

You are too good. Theſe revolutions have really coſt a deluge of blood, and an hundred provinces have been ravaged; but had it not been ſo, your ſervant, brother Fulgentius, had never ſlept at his eaſe in the Capitol.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Rome, that metropolis of the univerſe, is then moſt miſerably fallen.

FRIAR.

Fallen, I grant you; but as for miſerably, there I muſt ſay you nay: on the contrary, peace and the fine arts flouriſh here eternally. The ancient maſters of the world are now become muſic-maſters. Inſtead of ſending colonies into England, we now ſend them eunuchs and fidlers. We have, it is true, none of your Scipios now, thoſe deſtroyers of Carthage; but then we have none of your proſcriptions neither. We have bartered glory for tranquillity.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

I tried what I could to become a philoſopher in my life-time, but now I am ſure I have become one indeed. I find tranquillity is at the leaſt an equivalent for glory; but, by what you tell me, I ſhould be apt to ſuſpect brother Fulgentius is no adept in philoſophy.

FRIAR.

FRIAR.

What do you mean? Not a philoſopher! I am one with a vengeance. I once taught philoſophy; nay, better ſtill, I read lectures in theology.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

And, pray, what may this theology of yours be, an't pleaſe you?

FRIAR.

Why, it is—it is that which has made me be here, and the emperor elſewhere. You ſeem to grudge me the honour I enjoy, and are out of humour at the trifling revolution that has happened to your empire.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

I adore the eternal decrees of Providence: I know man ought not to repine at fate, I admire the viciſſitude of human affairs; but ſince every thing is ſo liable to change, and ſince the Roman empire has experienced this wonderful mutability, let me hope the recollets may alſo experience it in their turn.

FRIAR.

I declare you anathematized: but hold, now I think on't, it is time to go to matins.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

And I will go and be reunited to the Being of Beings.

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

A BRACHMAN and a JESUIT,

ON

NECESSITY and FREEWILL,

AND THE

GENERAL CONCATENATION

OF

CAUSES and EFFECTS.

JESUIT.

IN all probability, you are indebted to the prayers of St. Francis Xavier for that long and happy life you have enjoyed an hundred and fourſcore years! Why, 'tis a life-time for a patriarch.

BRACHMAN.

My maſter Fonſouca lived till three hundred: it is the ordinary courſe of life among us Brachmans. I have a very great regard for Francis Xavier; but all his prayers would never have put nature out of her deſtined order: had he really been able to prolong the life of a gnat but for one ſingle inſtant beyond what the general concatenation of cauſes and events allows of, this globe of ours had worn a quite different appearance from that in which you now behold it.

JESUIT.

JESUIT.

You have a ſtrange opinion of future contingents: why, you muſt be entirely ignorant that man is free, and that our free will diſpoſes of every thing in this ſublunary world at its mere fancy and pleaſure. I can aſſure you the Jeſuits alone have contributed not a little to ſome very conſiderable revolutions.

BRACHMAN.

I have no manner of queſtion in regard to the learning and power of the reverend fathers the Jeſuits: they are a very valuable part of human ſociety; yet I cannot by any means believe them the ſovereign arbiters of human tranſactions: every ſingle perſon, every ſingle being, whether Jeſuit or Brachman, is one of the ſprings which act in the general movement of the univerſe; in which he is the ſlave, and not the maſter of deſtiny. Pray, to what cauſe do you think Gengis-kan owed the conqueſt of Aſia? To the very moment in which his father one day happened to awake as he was in bed with his wife; to a word which a Tartar chanced to let fall ſome years before. I, for example, the very perſon you behold, am one of the chief cauſes of the deplorable death of Henry IV. for which, you may ſee, I am ſtill much afflicted.

JESUIT.

Your reverence is pleaſed to be very merry upon the matter? You the cauſe of the death of Henry IV!

BRACHMAN.

Alas! it is too true. This happened in the nine hundred eighty-three thouſandth year of the revolution of Saturn, which makes the fifteen hundred and fiftieth of your æra. I was then young and giddy headed. I thought proper, upon a time, to take a walk, which I began with moving my left foot firſt, on the coaſt of Malabar, from whence moſt evidently followed the death of Henry IV.

JESUIT.

How ſo, prithee? For, as to our ſociety, who were accuſed with having had a large ſhare in that affair, we had not the leaſt knowledge of it.

BRACHMAN.

BRACHMAN.

I'll tell ye how fate thought proper to order the matter. By moving my left foot, as I told you, I unluckily tumbled my friend Eriban, the Perſian merchant, into the water, and he was drowned. My friend, it ſeems, had a very handſome wife, that run away with an Armenian merchant: this lady had a daughter, who married a Greek; the daughter of this Greek ſettled in France, and married the father of Ravaillac. Now, had not every tittle of this happened exactly as it did, you are very ſenſible the affairs of the houſes of France and Auſtria would have turned out in a very different manner. The ſyſtem of Europe would have been entirely changed. The wars between Turky and the German empire would have had quite another iſſue; which iſſue would have had an effect on Perſia, as well as Perſia on the Eaſt-Indies; ſo you ſee it is plain to a demonſtration, that the whole depended on my left foot, which was connected with all the other events of the univerſe, paſt, preſent, and to come.

JESUIT.

I muſt have this affair laid before ſome of our fathers, who are theologians.

BRACHMAN.

In the mean time, I will tell you, father, that the maid-ſervant of the grand-father of the founder of the *Feuillants* (for you muſt know I have dipped into your hiſtories) was likewiſe one principal cauſe of the death of Henry IV. and of all the accidents which it produced.

JESUIT.

This ſervant-maid muſt then have been a domineering quean!

BRACHMAN.

Oh fye! no ſuch thing. She was a mere ideot, by whom her maſter had a child. Madame de la Barriere, poor ſoul, died of grief at it. She who ſucceeded her was, as your chronicles tell, the grandmother of the bleſſed John de la Barriere, who founded the order of *Feuillants*. Ravaillac was a monk of this order. With them he ſucked in a certain doctrine very faſhionable in thoſe

thoſe days, as you well enough know. This doctrine taught him to believe that the moſt meritorious thing he could poſſibly do, was to aſſaſſinate the beſt king in the whole world. What followed is known to every body.

JESUIT.

In ſpite of your left foot, and the wench of the grandfather of the founder of the *Feuillants*, I ſhall ever be of opinion that the horrible action committed by Ravaillac was a future contingent, which might very well not have happened: for, after all, man is certainly a free agent.

BRACHMAN.

I do not know what you mean by a free agent. I can affix no certain idea to theſe words. To be free, is to do whatever we think proper, and not to will whatever we pleaſe. All I know of the matter is, that Ravaillac voluntarily committed the crime, of which he was deſtined by fate to be the inſtrument. This crime was no more than a link of the great chain of deſtiny.

JESUIT.

You may ſay what you will, but the affairs of this world are far from having any ſuch dependence as you are pleaſed to think. What ſignifies, for example, this uſeleſs converſation of ours, here on the ſhores of the Eaſt-Indies.

BRACHMAN.

What you and I ſay in converſation is doubtleſs ſufficiently inſignificant; but, for all that, were you not here, the machine of the univerſe would be extremely changed from what it is.

JESUIT.

There your Brachmanniſh reverence is pleaſed to advance a huge paradox truly.

BRACHMAN.

Your Ignatian fatherſhip may believe me or no, as you like it. But aſſuredly, we ſhould never have had this converſation together, had you not come into the Eaſt-Indies. You had never made this voyage, had not your St. Ignatius de Loyola been wounded at the ſiege of Pampelona, or had not the king of Portugal perſiſted in diſcovering the paſſage round the Cape of Good Hope.

Hope. Now, prithee, did not the king of Portugal, with the help of the compaſs, entirely change the face of this world of ours? But it was firſt of all neceſſary that a certain Neapolitan ſhould make this diſcovery of the compaſs; now tell me, if you have the face, that every thing is not wholly ſubſervient to one conſtant and uniform tenour of action; which by indiſſoluble, but inviſible, concatenation, unites all that lives, or acts, or dies, or ſuffers on the ſurface of our globe?

JESUIT.

What then would become of our future contingents?

BRACHMAN.

What care I what become of them? but yet the order eſtabliſhed by the hand of an eternal and almighty God muſt certainly ſubſiſt for ever.

JESUIT.

Were one to liſten to you, we ought not to pray to God at all.

BRACHMAN.

It is our duty to adore him. But pray what mean ye by praying to God?

JESUIT.

What all the world means by it, to be ſure: that he would grant our petitions, and favour us in all our wants.

BRACHMAN.

I underſtand you. You mean, that a gardener might obtain clear ſunſhine weather, at a time which God has ordained from all eternity to produce rains; and that a pilot ſhould have an eaſterly wind, when a weſterly wind ought to refreſh the earth, as well as the ſeas? My good father; to pray as we ought is to ſubmit one's ſelf wholly to providence. So good evening to you. Deſtiny requires I ſhould now viſit my Brachmineſs.

JESUIT.

And my free-will urges me to give a leſſon to a young ſcholar.

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THE END OF VOL. IX.